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THE

LEXINGTON PAPERS;

OR,

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SOME ACCOUNT OF

THE COURTS OF LONDON AND VIENNA;

AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

EXTRACTED FROM THE OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE OF

ROBERT SUTTON, LORD LEXINGTON,

BRITISH MINISTER AT VIENNA, 1694-1698.

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SELECTED FROM THE ORIGINALS AT KELHAM, AND EDITED, WITH NOTES,

BY THE HON. H. MANNERS SUTTON.

55.d.10.

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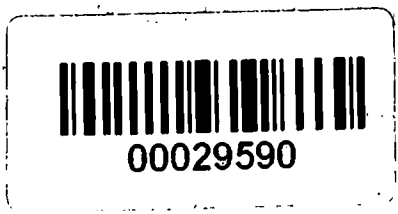

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INTRODUCTION.

THE correspondence from which the following extracts have been selected was lately discovered in the library at Kelham.[1]

From the appearance of the MSS., which (although uninjured) were almost buried in dust, there can be no doubt that they had remained undisturbed for a long series of years in the partially-concealed closets in which they were found. Their existence was certainly unsuspected by this generation; and as far as I can learn, it was also unknown to the last.

The papers thus unexpectedly brought to light consist principally of the official and private correspondence of Lord Lexington during his mission to the Imperial Court in the years 1694-5-6 and 7,[2] and of an equally complete series of his letters during his residence, as Ambassador, at Madrid in the years 1712-13.[3]

[1] Formerly the residence of Robert Sutton, second and last Lord Lexington, and now the property of his descendant, J. H. Manners Sutton, Esq., M.P. for Newark.

[2] The treaty of Ryswick was signed the 20th September, 1697.

[3] The peace of Utrecht was signed on the 31st March, 1713.

There are also many miscellaneous manuscripts, of various dates, but generally diplomatic, and connected with the negotiations in which Lord Lexington was engaged.

Among these papers is a copy or translation of the journal kept by Mr. Hop, the Minister of the United Provinces at Vienna, in the years 1688-89. An authentic account of the policy of the Imperial Court at that critical time may be considered to possess some interest, and I have therefore been induced to insert in an Appendix extracts from this journal, although it refers to a period antecedent to Lord Lexington's appointment as Minister to the Emperor. With this exception the following pages consist exclusively of extracts from Lord Lexington's correspondence during his mission to Vienna.

I have, for the sake of uniformity, translated the letters that are written in French. Many errors of style may be detected in the translations; but I have endeavoured to adhere as closely as possible to the literal meaning of the original text.

It will be observed that the extracts are not always arranged according to their dates. This apparent confusion arises from the difference between the old and the new style: both were in use by Lord Lexington's correspondents. In some instances the task of arrangement has been rendered difficult by the omission of the symbols which usually distinguish the two styles; but I believe that the letters are, with very few excep-

tions, if any, placed in the order in which they were written.

I am well aware that it is the duty of an editor to keep himself in the background; but I hope that neither the number nor the length of the notes which I have inserted will subject me to censure.

It only remains for me to acknowledge my obligations to many friends, and to some to whom I am personally unknown, for the uniform kindness with which they have received my applications for assistance on doubtful points, or for the permission to inspect the manuscripts in their possession.

Berghapton Cottage, August, 1859.

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ERRATA.

Page 29, note 1, *for* "Protestants and Roman Catholics, Allies;" *read* "Protestant and Roman Catholic Allies."

„ 132, line 16, *for* "intercourse" *read* "interview."

„ 140, note 2, last line in the left-hand column: "*the*" should be altered into "*this*."

„ 241, line 1, *for* "1696" *read* "1697."

„ 267, line 5, *for* "1696" *read* "1697."

THE

LEXINGTON. PAPERS.

MEMOIR.

ROBERT SUTTON, second and last Lord Lexington, was born at Averham Park in 1661. The inscription on his monument, which is more than usually grandiloquent, states that "the House of Sutton, of which he was a member, had given Earls to Warwick and Leicester, and Lords to the Barony of Dudley."

The family of Lexington, of which he was in the female line the representative, was of still greater antiquity. Of Robert, Baron de. Lexington, little more is known than that he lived in the time of Henry III., and died without issue; but John de Lexington, his younger brother, was four times appointed Keeper of the Great Seal by that king; and another brother, Henry de Lexington, was Bishop of Lincoln A.D. 1254.

With this generation the male line of the De Lexingtons became extinct; but Alicia, the sister and co-heiress of the last Baron, married Roland[1] de Sutton, from whom was descended, in a direct line, the subject of this memoir.

[1] Oliver de Sutton, who was probably a nephew of this Roland de Sutton, was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln, A.D. 1280.

To the remote ancestry of Lord Lexington it is needless to refer at greater length; but his father, on whom the Barony of Lexington was again conferred by Charles I., claims a separate although brief account.

Robert Sutton, afterwards first Lord Lexington of the second creation, was born in 1594.[1] In 1640 he was returned to Parliament, as one of the representatives of the county of Notts.

Early in 1643-4 he joined the King at Oxford; his estates were in consequence sequestered by the Parliament, and his house at Averham burnt by their troops. In reward for his services, and as some compensation for his losses, Mr. Sutton was, in 1645, created Lord Lexington by Charles I. At the surrender of Newark in the following year, he fell into the hands of General Fairfax, and it is painful to be compelled to add that he shortly afterwards subscribed the Covenant. But the fact is indisputable, for the certificate of his having thus condescended to avert the wrath of his captors is in the State Paper Office. Lord Lexington, however, was a prisoner, and the cause of his master was irretrievably ruined; his conduct, therefore, on this occasion may perhaps be excused, although it cannot be defended. He succeeded at length, but with great difficulty, in recovering his estates, on the payment of a very heavy fine—5000*l.*, which was granted to

[1] There is a curious entry in the parish register of Averham, which marks the untimely death of one of Mr. Sutton's retainers:—"A.D. 1618. Richard Linley, clerk to Mr. Robert Sutton, Esq., and Matthew Brownely, servant to Sir George Manners, of Haddon, Knight, each of other in single combat slaine, were buried the twentieth day of June." The feud between the servants did not extend to the masters, or it was speedily adjusted; for Mr. Sutton shortly afterwards married Elizabeth, daughter of this Sir George Manners, whose son, on the failure of male heirs to the elder branch, succeeded his cousin as eighth Earl of Rutland.

Lord Grey de Werk; but the Parliament refused to acknowledge the validity of his patent of peerage, and Lord Lexington was compelled to relinquish the title until the Restoration.[1] He died full of years in 1668, having been married three times, but leaving issue only by his third wife, who was the daughter of Sir Anthony St. Leger. Robert Sutton, second Lord Lexington, was his only son. When very young he served in a military capacity, but it does not appear that he took an active part in public affairs previously to the Revolution. He attended, however, the meetings of the Convention in 1689, and gave his vote in favour of the joint sovereignty of the Prince and Princess of Orange. In the month of June in the same year, he was despatched by William on a mission to the Elector of Brandenburgh; and in 1691 he was sworn a member of the Privy Council. In 1693 he was again employed on a foreign mission, and it was one of delicacy and importance. A contest had arisen between the House of Lunenburgh and the Princes of Anhalt with respect to the succession to the estates of the deceased Duke of Saxe Lauenburgh, and almost every prince of the North took part in the contest. The Emperor, the King of Denmark, and the Electors of Brandenburgh and Saxe, espoused the cause of the Princes of Anhalt, while the King of Sweden supported the claims of the Dukes of Zell and Brunswick. Hostilities had already commenced at Radzeburg between Denmark and Lunenburgh. The other Powers were preparing for

[1] There is in the State Paper Office a petition addressed by Lord Lexington to the House of Commons, to which is attached the signature "Lexington;" this signature, however, has been erased, doubtless by the order of the House, and that of "Robert Sutton" substituted.

war; and the very existence of the Great Continental League against France was threatened. The mediation of England and of Holland was offered and accepted, and Lord Lexington was, with Mr. Hop, the Pensionary of Amsterdam, selected to conduct this mediation. Their mission was successful, and peace was restored among the Allies. In the same year, 1693, Lord Lexington was appointed one of the Lords of the Bedchamber to the King.

In the following year (1694) Lord Lexington proceeded to Vienna as Envoy Extraordinary to the Imperial Court, and he remained there in this capacity until the year 1697. On the conclusion of the Peace of Ryswick in this year, he was recalled at his own request, and his kinsman and former Secretary Robert Sutton[1] was appointed resident Minister at Vienna. Various changes in the Administration at home were at this time in contemplation. The Duke of Shrewsbury and Sir William Trumbull, the two Secretaries of State, were both anxious to resign; public rumour named Lord Lexington as the probable successor of one or other of these ministers, and there are some passages in Mr. Blathwayt's letters which would seem

[1] Robert Sutton, born in 1671, was the grandson of Henry, younger brother of the first Lord Lexington. He was educated for the church, and took deacon's orders. In 1695 he proceeded to Vienna in the joint capacity of Chaplain and Secretary to Lord Lexington; on whose recall, in 1697, Mr. Sutton was appointed Resident Minister at the Imperial Court. He was subsequently sent to Constantinople as Envoy Extraordinary to the Ottoman Porte. In 1720 he succeeded Lord Stair as British Minister at Paris, and in 1721 he was elected Member of Parliament for Nottinghamshire. Upon the revival of the order of the Bath, in 1725, Mr. Sutton received the red ribbon. It is well known that holy orders were not at that time considered any disqualification for civil employments, but I do not recollect any other instance of a clerical knight of the Bath.

to imply that the King was at one time not indisposed to such an appointment. The Duke of Shrewsbury, however, at the earnest request of his master, consented to postpone his retirement from office, and Mr. Vernon succeeded Sir William Trumbull.

Lord Lexington was shortly afterwards named a member of the Council of Trade and Plantations,[1] and it appears that he devoted much of his time and attention to the business of that Board.

As one of the Lords of the Bedchamber, he was in frequent attendance upon the King, and was present when William III. expired. Smollett states that "Lords Lexington and Scarborough, who were in waiting, no sooner perceived that the King was dead than they ordered Ronjat to untie from his arm a black ribbon, to which was affixed a ring, containing some hair of the late Queen Mary!" It is difficult to conceive an adequate motive for this act, which, in the absence of any explanation, would appear to be one of ill-timed and heartless curiosity. Such an inference, however, would be totally at variance with the general character of Lord Lexington, who was remarkable for the warmth of his feelings and for his affectionate disposition. In 1703 Lady Lexington[2] died, and Lord Lexington deeply felt the loss of his wife, to whom he was most sincerely attached. This was, perhaps, one of the causes for the retirement in which he lived during the earlier part of the reign of Queen Anne; but it is also probable that neither the Queen herself, nor those who then governed her, regarded Lord Lexington with

[1] The Council of Trade and Plantations was first established Dec. 17, 1695.

[2] Margaret, only daughter and heiress of Sir Giles Hungerford, of Coulston, co. Wilts.

favour; for Mackay states, in his Memoirs, that Lord Lexington "was Gentleman of the Horse to the Princess (now Queen) when the difference happened between her and King William,[1] and left her service, and was made Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the King." If this account be true, and there is no reason to doubt it, the Duchess of Marlborough, who was herself the chief cause of the breach between the King and the Princess, was not of a temper readily to forget or to forgive such an affront. In the year 1712 both the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough were in disgrace, and the Queen's advisers were resolutely determined to close the war. The preliminaries of a peace with France had already been arranged by Lord Bolingbroke; the Congress of Utrecht had been opened, and Lord Lexington was selected to conduct the negotiations with Spain. He embarked for Madrid on the 4th of October (N. S.), 1712; and a few months afterwards, Philip V. formally renounced, for himself and his successors, all claims to the crown of France.

Whatever doubts may be entertained with regard to the policy of the instructions by which Lord Lexington was governed, it would appear from the despatches of Lords Bolingbroke and Dartmouth that his conduct was approved by those under whom he acted.

Lord Lexington's health suffered severely during his residence at Madrid, and his spirits were broken by the untimely death of his only son, who had accompanied him to Spain, and died at Madrid in October, 1713, in the sixteenth year of his age. At that time the burial of a Protestant in Spain was attended with great difficulty; and even the high station of Lord Lexington,

[1] In 1692.

as the British ambassador, afforded no security that the remains of his son would be suffered to rest in peace, if committed to the earth at Madrid. On a previous occasion, when one of his domestics had died, Lord Lexington had found it necessary to conceal, rather than to bury, the body in his garden, and even this precaution had failed to preserve the corpse from disturbance and insult.

Mr. Stanhope,[1] also, when resident at Madrid, as British minister there, had experienced similar or even greater difficulties in the burial of his chaplain, who died there in 1691. On this occasion, although the previous consent of the authorities had been obtained, and the body was quietly buried in a field by night, the grave was violated, the coffin broken open, and the corpse insulted and mutilated; it was in this state returned to Mr. Stanhope, who was forced to bury it in his cellar.

Warned therefore by his own experience, and by that of his predecessor, Lord Lexington determined to transmit the body of his only son to the burial-place of his ancestors in Nottinghamshire.

The corpse was concealed in a bale of cloth, and safely, but with great difficulty, conveyed to England. It had always been supposed that the remains had been finally interred at Averham; but in 1842, when the vault at Kelham, which was built for Lord Lexington himself, was opened for the funeral of one of his descendants, the late Lord Manners, a coffin was discovered, which, unlike the others, bore no inscription. It was carefully opened; and although nearly 130 years had elapsed since it was first placed in the

[1] *Vide* page 24, &c. of 'The Court of Spain under Charles II.,' by Lord Mahon.

ground, the body within was in so remarkable a state of preservation, that its identity was at once determined by the resemblance of the features to the picture of Lord Lexington's son, which is now in the gallery at Kelham.

On the death of his son, Lord Lexington, who was himself dangerously ill, solicited his recall, and returned to England. Tindal states that on the removal of Lord Oxford, in the following year (1714), from the post of Lord High Treasurer, Lord Lexington was named as likely to hold high office in the Government about to be formed under the auspices of Lord Bolingbroke;[1] but the sudden illness and death of the Queen defeated the intrigue.

Whatever may have been the intentions of Lord Bolingbroke at this critical period, it is clear that Lord Lexington at least was by no means disposed to promote the cause of the Pretender. He had served William III. faithfully and without reservation; and there is not the slightest ground for believing that he was ever connected with any of the numerous intrigues during the reign of Queen Anne, by which the partisans of the exiled Prince attempted to retrieve his fortunes.

Lord Lexington had, moreover, maintained from a very early period (1693) an intimate and constant correspondence with the houses of Zell and Hanover; and he had received many marks of favour[2] from the Duke of Zell and the Electress Sophia, who honoured him with their confidence and correspondence.

The letters from the Electress, which are holograph, are couched in very familiar and friendly terms. There

[1] Tindal's History of England.

[2] The Duke of Zell and the Electress of Hanover, with William III., stood sponsors for Lord Lexington's son, who was born at Vienna in 1697.

is one in particular, bearing date the 15th May, 1713,[1] and addressed to Lord Lexington at Madrid, which, although unimportant in other respects, shows clearly that his connexion with the Tory Government of Queen Anne had not diminished his desire to serve the House of Hanover or the kindly feelings with which the Electress had long regarded him. It was, perhaps, partly on this account, and because no suspicion of Jacobite principles attached to him, that Lord Lexington escaped impeachment, in 1715, for his share in the negotiations for the Peace. He was nevertheless severely censured in the Report of Mr. Walpole's Committee, on which the articles of impeachment against the Duke of Ormond and the Lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Strafford[2] were founded; but no further proceedings were taken against him.

With the accession of George I. the public career of Lord Lexington terminated. The remainder of his life was passed in retirement.

He died at Averham Park, on the 19th September, 1723, in the sixty-third year of his age, and was buried at Kelham.[3]

[1] The Electress died on the 28th of May, 1714, in the 84th year of her age.

[2] Lord Strafford was one of the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, and was impeached. His colleague, the Bishop of London (Dr. Robinson), was more fortunate.

[3] The elder of Lord Lexington's two daughters died unmarried in 1715. In 1717 his only remaining child, Bridget, was married to John, Marquis of Granby, afterwards third Duke of Rutland, who held various important offices in the reign of George II. The eldest son by this marriage was John, Marquis of Granby, whose distinguished military services have established for him a permanent reputation.

The second son, Lord Robert Manners, assumed, in accordance with the will of his maternal grandfather, Lord Lexington, the name of Sutton, and on the death of his mother, in 1734, succeeded to the Lexington estates. He died unmarried in 1762, and was succeeded by his next brother, Lord George Manners, who likewise took the name of Sutton; and from him are descended all who bear conjointly the names of Manners and Sutton.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.[1]

Zell,[2] Sept. 18, 1694.

The King was pleased to command me, when I came away, that, if I had an opportunity, I should offer his good offices at Hanover towards satisfying the Elector[3] of Saxony about this Koningsmark,[4] which I have done; and the Elector[5] bids me say that he thinks

[1] William Blathwayt, Esq., M.P. for Bath, and Secretary at War; which office he continued to hold until the year 1704, when he was succeeded by Mr. St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke.

Mr. Blathwayt was one of the Clerks of the Council in the reign of James II.; and on the trial of the Seven Bishops in 1688, he was called to prove that they had acknowledged to the King in Council their signatures to the petition which formed the subject of the charge against them. His name appears as one of the attesting witnesses to the will executed by James II. on the 17th November, 1688.

As Secretary at War, Mr. Blathwayt was in constant attendance upon the King during his campaigns in Flanders; and at these intervals he performed the duties, although he did not enjoy the rank, of a third Secretary of State.

[2] Lord Lexington had proceeded thus far on his way to Vienna as Envoy Extraordinary to the Imperial Court.

[3] Frederick Augustus had succeeded his brother as Elector of Saxony a few months before.

[4] Count Koningsmark disappeared in 1686. The renewed inquiries respecting his fate were probably owing to the influence of the Countess of Koningsmark, his sister, to whom the young Elector of Saxony was at this time passionately attached. Their son, Marshal Saxe, was born 1696.

[5] Ernest Augustus, Elector of Hanover.

himself mightily obliged to his Majesty for the kind offer, though there are hopes that there may be no occasion for it; their Minister at Saxony giving them so good assurances from the Elector, and by his order, that he was satisfied with the answer from Hanover; though Banniers still continues to press for a more positive one what was become of that fellow, and says it is by his master's orders, so one does not know what to make of it; but I find this, that here we have no mind to own any knowledge what is become of him, though in confidence to one's best friends, and after so kind an offer; but I think one need not trouble oneself much about him, for I dare swear he is safe enough.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Ipsdorphe, Sept. 24.

Since my last I have been at Wolfenbuttle, where I saw Duke Antoine,[1] but Rodolph was in the mountains stag-hunting. I find he has a great mind the two brothers[2] should differ about this business of the Princess,[3] in hopes that he may profit, and indeed I wish that one time or another it does not happen so.

[1] Dukes Rodolph and Antoine governed jointly the dominions of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle. Rodolph cultivated letters and philosophy, and left the chief management of affairs to his younger brother, who was exceedingly jealous of the Dukes of Zell and Hanover (the representatives of the younger branch of Brunswick), and inclined to the French interest.

[2] The Duke of Zell and the Elector of Hanover.

[3] A divorce was in progress between George Lewis of Hanover (afterwards George I.) and his wife, Sophia Dorothea of Zell, whose sad fate is well known.

Mr. Vernon[1] *to Lord Lexington.*

Whitehall, Oct. 16, 1694.

When Mr. Varey[2] gave me the enclosed, he made me a present in your Lordship's name, which I am to return you my humble thanks for, and I beg your Lordship to believe that I should have been always at your commands without being thus retained.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Oct. 26, 1694.

The trials[3] in Cheshire and Lancashire have miscarried, though there is little doubt made but the

[1] James Vernon, Esq., had been secretary to the Duke of Monmouth. He was at this time confidential secretary to the Duke of Shrewsbury. In December, 1697, Mr. Vernon was promoted to the office of Secretary of State. But although this appointment caused the greatest surprise, and probably no one was more astonished than Mr. Vernon himself, he was by no means ill qualified for the important post to which he was thus suddenly raised. He possessed considerable abilities and great prudence: he was, moreover, perfectly master of the business of the office. His manners were unpretending, and he was personally obnoxious to no one. Mr. Vernon's correspondence with the Duke of Shrewsbury was published in 1841, edited by J. P. R. James, Esq.

[2] Mr. Varey was Lord Lexington's private agent; and the present referred to was a douceur of 10*l.*, with which Mr. Varey bespoke the assistance of Mr. Vernon in passing Lord Lexington's bill of Extraordinaries. Neither of the parties engaged in this transaction seems to have thought that there was any impropriety—and there certainly was nothing uncommon—in the attempt to propitiate an officer of the Government by a present of money. It appears from one of Mr. Varey's letters to Lord Lexington, that Mr. Ellis, the under secretary in Sir William Trumbull's office, received a similar present on a similar occasion; and indeed it was the common custom of the day to offer and to receive such fees.

[3] The "Lancashire Conspiracy" was discovered in the summer of 1694, and many gentlemen of wealth and distinction in the counties of Chester and Lancaster were arrested and tried. But the Government failed to convict any of the accused, and the prosecutions formed the subject of warm debates in both Houses of Parliament.

prisoners were many of them guilty in the main of what they are charged with. But that which appeared most, was a plot and contrivance to bring them off, laid by one Taaf,[1] who from a Papist turned Protestant, and from an evidence against the prisoners turned evidence for them, and not only discovered to them what others had to depose, but, as they say, even guided and directed the testimony of some of the witnesses so as to run them into errors which should be easily detected. I suppose he will not carry it off without being prosecuted himself.

Lord Paget[2] *to Lord Lexington.*

Constantinople, Nov. 5, 1694.

I cannot send such a relation as I would of the negotiation agitated here, but I am agoing to Adrianople shortly, from whence I may give your Lordship a better account; and I will transmit it as occasion requires, and as I may have opportunity for the conveyance of my letters, which we have not so frequently here as in Christendom.

[1] Taaf, alias Thomas O'Mullen, and Lunt, were the chief witnesses for the prosecution.

Tindal says that the consideration for which Taaf (who was a man of infamous character) consented thus to turn the tables on the Government, was a present of 20*l.* and the promise of an annuity.

[2] Lord Paget had preceded Lord Lexington as ambassador at Vienna. He was appointed ambassador to the Ottoman Porte on the death of Mr. Harbord in 1692.

The war between Austria and Turkey compelled the Emperor to divide his forces, and materially weakened his exertions against France. The preservation of Hungary was his first object, and the Allies on the Rhine and in Piedmont suffered in consequence. Louis XIV. was well aware of this, and sedulously endeavoured to promote and to prolong the contest, while William III., on the other hand, tried every expedient, by the offer of his mediation and that of Holland, to put an end to it, and thus to enable the Emperor to employ the whole of his forces against the common enemy, France.

The present Grand Vizier is a brisk old man, and, as I am told, well inclined. The Caimacan[1] of Adrianople is particularly civil to us, and has of late expressed great dislike to the French; all these are good ingredients to enter into business, and I hope I may be able to give a good account of it if he will be persuaded to reason: however the height of their spirits keeps them from owning it, yet I know they have as much need of a peace here as the Germans have.

Mr. Prior[2] *to Lord Lexington.*

Hague, Nov. $\frac{19}{9}$, 1694.

For news here I have no other than that the King was very merry on Monday night at Mrs. D'Odyck's[3] ball, where he led in your sister Kaunitz,[4] so bedaubed with diamonds, that one might mistake her for Mrs. Barry in the 'Maiden Queen;' she danced, too, a little like Mrs. Barry, with her —— up, her toes in, and her head below her shoulders, much to the satisfaction of the Envoyess of Lapland, who mended the matter with my Lord Cutts,[5] who had

[1] Caimacan, or governor.

[2] Matthew Prior was at this time employed in an inferior diplomatic capacity at the Hague. His salary was small and ill paid, and his position was precarious, as it depended upon the arrival of a minister plenipotentiary from England; he was therefore anxiously expecting an appointment elsewhere. Upon Lord Villiers's arrival, Prior was retained by him as his secretary; and in 1696 he was named secretary to the plenipotentiaries for conducting the negotiations at Ryswick.

[3] M. d'Odyck was the brother of M. d'Auverquerque. His father, Lewis of Nassau, was the natural son of Maurice of Nassau and of Madame de Mechlin.

[4] Count Kaunitz was the Austrian minister at the Hague.

[5] Lord Cutts, colonel of the 2nd Regiment of Foot Guards, and Governor of the Isle of Wight. This gallant officer was present at almost every action of importance during the reigns of William and of Anne; and Mackay states that he was invariably wounded.

only the pretence of having his foot broke for dancing most exquisitely ill. Lord Selkirk [1] lost a heart there, and one of the States a diamond buckle of greater value.

I just now receive your Lordship's to Mr. Blathwayt and Stepney. I am a little jealous of the last, since there came not one word to him who is from his heart and soul, &c., &c.

Mr. Stepney[2] *to Lord Lexington.*

London, Nov. 21, 1694.

The first day when the Parliament was opened, and yesterday, some jests have flown about, as is usual in the beginning of Session, when people come up to town full of illnatured reflections. The three chief members who have been taken notice of for talking freely, are Sir Edward Seymour,[3] Jack Howe,[4] and Sir J. Thompson.[5] You know, my Lord, the two first are grumbletonians for being turned out, and the last has a mind to be a Lord. The King has got cold as he was hunting last Saturday. He had shiverings last night as if he would have an ague, but to-day he is

[1] The Earl of Selkirk was the third son of the Duke of Hamilton, who resigned the Earldom of Selkirk in his favour, 1688.

[2] George Stepney, the poet, was employed in various negotiations of importance by William and Queen Anne, and displayed considerable abilities as a diplomatist. Very soon after the date of this letter, Mr. Stepney was despatched to Dresden on a mission to the Elector of Saxony.

[3] Sir Edward Seymour was appointed a Lord of the Treasury in 1692, and was for a short time a prominent member of King William's administration. He was dismissed in 1694. But, if it be true that he only consented to join the Government under the threat of a prosecution for high treason in the event of his refusal, there seems to be no ground for believing that his removal from office was peculiarly distasteful to him.

[4] Mr. Howe, the younger brother of Sir Scroop Howe, who was raised to the Peerage in 1701 as Viscount Howe. Mr. Howe had been recently dismissed from the office of Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen.

[5] Sir John Thompson obtained the object of his ambition: he was in 1696 created Lord Haversham.

better. The Archbishop of Canterbury[1] is taken ill of an apoplexy since Sunday, and, I believe, will die. Mr. Roberts (brother to Lord Radnor) has married my Lady Mary Warrington,[2] who will be worth 12,000*l.* to him. He fell sick soon after the ceremony of marriage. His illness hindered him to dance at our ball, which was very fine. Perhaps my Lady Lexington may be desirous to know the persons who performed. The Duke of St. Alban's danced the best rigadoon, the Duke of Richmond the best minuet, the Duke of Northumberland[3] was graceful in a courant; the rest were Lord Essex, young Overkirk,[4] Sir Scroop Howe's son, and Mansy Howe, who made but indifferent stuff of it. Our women were the Duchess of Grafton, my Lady Essex, my Lady Macclesfield,[5] Mrs. Villiers,[6] Mrs. Grenville, Mrs. Moon, Lady Betty Cromwell, and Lady Betty Cavendish.

I would have given you more of this chat, but time draws nigh for making up their pacquets at the office. Nothing is yet done either in my[7] business, or in Mr. Prior's, because Duke Shrewsbury has been indisposed with the colic for three or four days, but now he begins to find himself something better.

[1] Dr. Tillotson; he died the next day.

[2] Lady Mary Booth, daughter of Henry, second Lord Delamere and first Earl of Warrington.

[3] George Fitzroy, third son of Charles II. by the Duchess of Cleveland; the three best performers therefore at this ball were half-brothers.

[4] Created in 1698 Earl of Grantham.

[5] Anne Countess of Macclesfield, the mother of Richard Savage.

[6] Elizabeth Villiers (sister of Lord Villiers and of the Countess of Portland), whose intrigue with the King embittered the married life of her mistress, Queen Mary. It is said that the Queen on her deathbed implored the King to discontinue the connexion. In 1695 Mrs. Villiers married Lord George Hamilton, who was created Earl of Orkney in 1696.

[7] Both Stepney and Prior were in daily expectation of receiving diplomatic appointments.

Mr. Greg[1] *to Lord Lexington.*

Copenhagen, Nov. 21, 1694.

As to[2] what happened in the Downs about the Danish commander refusing to *strike his pennant* to our fleet, the King[3] has now disavowed him in expressive words, and promised that he shall be punished exemplarily for the same upon his return; and this in an authentic manner.

From Prince Louis of Baden[4] *to Lord Lexington.*

(Translation.) No date, but probably about Dec. 1694.

Being entirely devoted to His Britannic Majesty, it gives me particular satisfaction to show on every occasion my respectful attachment to his august per-

[1] Mr. Greg was British minister at Copenhagen. He was cousin to the William Greg, who, when employed by Mr. Harley as a confidential clerk in the secretary of state's office, was detected in a treasonable correspondence with Monsieur Chamillard, the French minister, and executed at Tyburn, 1707.

[2] The following extract from a letter written by Sir Cloudesley Shovel will explain the transaction to which Mr. Greg refers. My copy of this letter is in French, and it is dated,

"The Neptune, in the Downs, Aug. 11, 1694.

"This is to acquaint you that on my arrival I found here a Danish and a Swedish man-of-war. The latter struck her flag, but the former refused to strike hers, although I sent orders to that effect three times. I therefore directed the Stirling Castle to bear down upon her, and to oblige her, by force if necessary, to lower her flag. Very early this morning (for it was too late yesterday evening before they could approach sufficiently near to her) the Stirling Castle fired some cannon-shots one after the other. This failed to produce the desired effect, and he then gave her a broadside, which the Dane returned; after which he quickly struck his flag.

. . . . .

"There are several dead and wounded on both sides."

Notwithstanding the subsequent disavowal of the Danish captain, there is no doubt that, in refusing to strike his flag, he acted in accordance with instructions which he had received.

[3] Christian V., King of Denmark.

[4] Prince Louis of Baden, in 1691, succeeded the Duke of Lorraine in the command of the Imperial forces on the Rhine: he had visited England in 1693.

son, and I have thought it right to place myself and all that belongs to me at your disposal immediately upon your arrival at Vienna.

I beg of you to accept the offer of my services, and to look upon me on every occasion as the most humble and zealous of all the servants of the King your master; and to believe that as regards yourself, I recollect with pleasure all the civilities which you were pleased to show me in England, and that I shall be delighted to mark my sense of them by any services in my power.

(Signed) LE PRINCE LOUIS DE BADEN.

If, in my absence, my house can be of use to you, I willingly offer it to you: until you obtain another, you will be more agreeably lodged there than elsewhere.

The Pensionary Heinsius[1] *to Lord Lexington.*

(Translation.) The Hague, Dec. 6, 1694.

* * * You will doubtless have heard, even on your journey, that two French gentlemen[2] have had an interview with M. de Dyckvelt.[3] I think that it is my duty to explain this affair to you, in order that you may be able to remove the bad impressions which I understand they wish to excite among the Allies with regard

[1] Anthony Heinsius probably possessed a greater share of the confidence of William than any other statesman, with the exception of Lord Portland. The former may perhaps be regarded as the minister in whom the King placed the greatest reliance, while the latter was pre-eminently his friend. Heinsius held the office of Grand Pensionary of Holland for thirty years, and died 1720, aged 87.

[2] Messieurs de Callières and de Harlai were employed by Louis XIV. in this delicate negotiation.

[3] M. de Dyckvelt was as subtle and as well versed in the chicanery of negotiations as any diplomatist of his time. His successful intrigues in England previously to the Revolution contributed much to place William on the throne of Great Britain.

to it. You, Sir, are aware, by the instructions which the King has given you, that His Majesty and the States General formerly proposed at the Congress[1] of the Hague that no negotiation should be entered into until France had laid down, as the basis and groundwork of the peace to be made, the treaties of Westphalia and of Nimeguen, and the restitution of all the Reunions,[2] those of Strasburgh and Luxemburgh especially being therein comprised. The King, having heard that France showed an inclination to acquiesce in the said preliminaries, and that these two gentlemen could give some information on the subject, was desirous that M. de Dyckvelt should speak with them upon it at Liège or at Maestricht, which he did. As soon as he had an opportunity of meeting them, he inquired of them whether France was willing to treat with all the Allies, and to make a general peace. They replied in the affirmative; and they gave a similar reply with respect to the proposed basis of the negotiation; excepting, however, that part which related to Strasburgh and

[1] This congress was held in 1691. It was attended by William III. in person, by the Electors of Bavaria and Brandenburgh, and by many other princes of the Empire or their representatives.

[2] The peace of Nimeguen was scarcely signed before Louis XIV. established three tribunals or chambers of reunion, at Brisach for Alsace, Metz for the three bishoprics, and Besançon for Franche Comté. The object of these tribunals was to investigate musty records and worm-eaten manuscripts, and to collect traditional information relative to all the obsolete rights which had been enjoyed, or were supposed to have been enjoyed, by former sovereigns, in order to appropriate the territories subject to such rights as fiefs and dependencies. These reunions did not merely comprehend towns and districts, but extended to whole principalities, duchies, and counties. —Coxe's History of Austria.

The truce of Ratisbonne, concluded in 1684, left in the possession of Louis the greater portion of the territories thus acquired, but it did not check the proceedings of the chambers of reunion, which formed the chief cause of the renewal of the war between France and the Empire in 1688.

Luxemburgh, for which they were willing to give equivalents; as regards the Reunions, they were prepared to restore many, but not all of them. They did not enter into any explanation with respect to the equivalent for Strasburgh, but for Luxemburgh they hinted at Ypres, the fortress of Knock, and Furnes; being disposed, moreover, to give Dinant to the Bishop of Liège. To Savoy they were willing to restore that which they have taken from her, and they stated that they should be prepared to satisfy England[1] as soon as the other points were agreed upon, but they were unable to make any statement upon the subject beforehand. The King departed from hence before the result of this interview could be communicated to him. He directed M. de Dyckvelt to inform these gentlemen that he would never take any step but in concert with all the Allies, and that he should feel himself bound to communicate everything to them; and he desired M. de Dyckvelt (or me in case M. de Dyckvelt should not come to the Hague) not to delay this communication until he (the King) could receive, on the other side of the water, an account of the interview, but to impart it at once to the Allies. On his return here, M. de Dyckvelt immediately requested M. de Voinitz and myself to consult with him on the matter; he related all that had passed, and it was determined to communicate it in confidence to the Ministers of the Allies. It was further resolved that M. de Dyckvelt should despatch his secretary to Maestricht to inform the gentlemen there that he would not fail to lay before the King a report of the conference,

[1] By the recognition of the King of Great Britain, which was the third preliminary insisted upon by William.

and to request that they would retire to their own country. The communication has already been made to the Ministers of the Allies; the two gentlemen have been requested to retire (as we have reason to believe they did[1] yesterday); and a full report has been sent to the King. We have thought it right to make this communication one of a confidential nature, as it is not desirable that it should become the subject of general discussion.

Mr. Cressett[2] to Lord Lexington.

Winsen, Dec. 6, 1694.

This, I hope, will find my good lady and yourself safe arrived at Vienna, and when your Lordship has seen the great Roman Emperor,[3] I hope I shall hear something of him. My old Trojan[4] here is a better huntsman than his Imperial Majesty, though he is a little affected with the gout at present.

The Court of Hanover is gone for Berlin, and in this absence (probably) they will judge the Princess[5] and conclude the divorce; they never could have brought it about, but by managing her so in prison that she herself desires it, and so 'twill go upon what the doctors call malicious desertion.

The French[6] tool, General Birch, has been plying

[1] It would, however, appear that although the terms offered by MM. de Callières and de Harlai were positively refused, William III. indirectly continued to avail himself of the medium of communication thus opened with France.

[2] James Cressett, Esq., British Minister at Zell.

[3] Leopold I., Emperor of Germany, Archduke of Austria, &c.

[4] George William, Duke of Zell, elder brother of the Elector of Hanover.

[5] Sophia Dorothea.

[6] There was still a strong French party at the Court of Hanover, although both the Duke of Zell and the Elector of Hanover had recently signed a fresh treaty with the Allies.

By a secret article in this treaty

about here, but I have kept him out of this court, sorely against the will of all the folks in power here.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Dec. 18, 1694.

The Parliament affairs at present don't afford much to enlarge upon. What debate was yesterday arose upon the Bill of Offices,[1] which was then considered of in a committee. It was gone through with so carelessly, as if people were unconcerned how it was drawn up, as not thinking it would be passed at last; but when the Bill was settled even to the preamble, Sir Ralph Dutton[2] offered a clause—that all who had held offices under King Charles II. and King James should be made incapable of being chosen. Sir Edward Hussey[3] was likewise for adding those who were of the late King's Council. To this Col. Titus[4] answered that he had indeed that title, but knew no more of that King's Council than the yeoman of the guard who stood at the door. The Speaker[5] took this matter

William III. engaged to assist the Elector in rendering the Bishopric of Osnaburgh hereditary in his family. By the treaty of Westphalia it was provided that a Roman Catholic and a Protestant bishop (who was also to be a member of the House of Brunswick) should be alternately appointed to this see.

[1] A similar bill for rendering members of the House of Commons incapable of places of trust and profit had passed both Houses of Parliament the preceding Session; but the King refused to assent to it.

[2] Sir Ralph Dutton, M.P. for Gloucestershire.

[3] Sir Edward Hussey, M.P. for Lincoln.

[4] Colonel Silas Titus, M.P. for Ludlow, had concurred in the proposal to repeal the penal laws, and in 1688 he was admitted to the Privy Council by James II. But although Col. Titus was in favour of toleration, it was very well known that he was by no means disposed to aid the King in his designs for the re-establishment of Popery.

[5] Sir John Trevor was elected Speaker in 1690, and appointed Master of the Rolls on the death of Mr. Powle, in 1692. He had held both these offices in the preceding

up more seriously, and said it was a scandalous clause, and could be brought in for no other end but to lose the bill; that he had an office under the late King, and was put out of it afterwards without cause; that he owed his being restored to it to the good opinion that House were pleased to have of him, that he neither served the late King nor any King dishonourably or contrary to his duty. Sir Edward Seymour[1] said he had the honour to serve King Charles II.; that under the late King he had no employment—not but that he might if he had sought it; but he was no complier with the times. In this reign he had been brought into the Council and into employment unknown to him, and without his desire, and he thought himself as much obliged for putting him out as taking him in.

The Lords passed the Triennial Bill[2] this day without a division or amendment, yet eight or ten Lords were against it; that is, they would have this Parliament determine in 1695. The Earl of Monmouth[3]

reign, and was a member of the Privy Council of James II. Burnet states, that "had Lord Jeffreys stuck at anything, he (Sir John Trevor) was looked on as the man likeliest to have had the Great Seal."

[1] Sir Edward Seymour was Speaker of the House of Commons, and held other high offices in the reign of Charles II. In 1679 he was chosen Speaker for the second time. The Crown, however, claimed the right of nomination, and Mr. Meers was placed in the chair, and his appointment sanctioned by the King. The next day Sir E. Seymour was presented as Speaker elect, but rejected by Charles II. At length the matter was adjusted by the rejection of both the rival candidates for the chair, and a third person, Mr. Gregory, was proposed by Lord Russell, and elected Speaker. Although Sir Edward Seymour's election was allowed to drop, the point was settled that the choice of the Speaker rested with the House of Commons, and not with the Crown. *Vide* Burnet.

[2] This bill was brought in by Mr. Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, and received the Royal assent on the 22nd December, although but a few months before the King had rejected a similar bill.

[3] Better known as the Earl of Peterborough, to which title he succeeded on the death of his uncle in 1697.

began it, but did not insist upon it, as being convinced if the Commons should oppose the amendment, the Bill was not to be hazarded, or the House put to retract for so small a difference as one year; but my Lord Halifax was for maintaining that opinion, be the consequences as they would, and after all desired to protest.[1]

The Pensionary Heinsius to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) The Hague, Dec. 28, 1694.

I hope that on your arrival at Vienna you received my former letters: I can add nothing to them, unless it be that the King is of opinion that the proposals (for peace) were not of a nature to be accepted; and approves of our having communicated the result of the interview to the Ministers of the Allies without waiting for his answer.

We are now informed that the gentlemen have withdrawn from Namur and returned to Paris.

Mr. Cressett to Lord Lexington.

Zell, Dec. 20, 1694.

They are still puzzled at Hanover about their divorce, and I cannot see what way they will get out of their filthy business. The Court is come back from Berlin, and they say that the Elector[2] of Brandenburgh is prevailed with to come to the carnival.

[1] This protest was signed by the Duke of Devonshire (the Lord Steward), and Lords Halifax, Aylesbury, and Weymouth.

[2] Frederick III., Elector of Brandenburgh, who afterwards assumed the title of King of Prussia, married in 1684 Sophia Charlotte, daughter of the Elector of Hanover.

Mr. Prior to Lord and Lady Lexington.

Hague, Dec. $\frac{31}{21}$, 1694.

I have received yours, my good Lord, of the 1st (11th), and yours, my honoured Lady, of the 15th (5th) of December. It is the honour of my embassy to hold such correspondence, and the joy of my heart to hear you are well. I should entertain you with some public news, but that it does not signify very much that the States have bargained with particular persons for all the horses they are to employ in their carriages for the artillery this next campaign, or that my Lord Athlone[1] and Mr. Dyckvelt cannot go to Brussels by reason of the frost. My Lord's own letters will inform him how matters go in England: we have three millions already founded on tonnage, and 4*s.* per pound on land, so my Lord pays the fifth part of his estate in ready money to have his extraordinaries in tallies,[2] but that is a considera-

[1] Godart de Ginckell was, in 1691, created Earl of Athlone, for his eminent military services in Ireland.

[2] Money was very scarce in England, and the British ministers who were resident at foreign Courts were most irregularly paid. Even tallies, which were sometimes at 30 or even 40 per cent. discount, were not obtained without great difficulty and frequent application, as will appear from the following extract of a letter, addressed to Lady Lexington by Lord L.'s private agent, Mr. Varey. The date of this letter is June 4, 1695. There are many others on the same subject, and written in a similar strain:—"I formerly wrote you word that the King had passed all your bills of extraordinaries; and the Lords (*of the Treasury*) had passed them, too, before the King went, and tallies were ordered to be struck for my Lord, and everybody else that is abroad: but of a sudden everything was stopped, and no tallies to be struck for the extraordinaries; and for the ordinary but one quarter, which I have now a tally for, for 455*l.*; it will not be paid these two years or thereabouts. We cannot get them discounted under eight or ten per cent. * * * * We that are concerned for our friends abroad, do tease the Lords of the Treasury so, that I hope they will give orders for striking the tallies in a week or fortnight's time at furthest, for the extraordinaries, which you shall have an account of when done; and then I will present Mr. Vernon with ten guineas, as my Lord orders.

But

tion which touches very few foreign ministers (I mean of ours) besides his Lordship, since most of the rest, from D'Hervaert[1] to Prior, stay abroad because they have nothing at home, and are sent to preach politics, as the Apostles were on a better errand, without purse or scrip. "In the midst of thy anger remember justice," says the wise man, so I must own I have got money enough out of the Treasury to secure me and mine from starving till towards April, upon which I make so great a figure that everybody takes me for a resident, and two or three public ministers have been dupes enough to invite me to dinner. Stepney has got 4*l.* a day and 300*l.* advanced for equipage, which, being a very discreet person, he intends (I presume) to spend before he leaves London, for as yet I do not hear when he will set out.

I wish my Lord well quit of his gala coat and visits, my Lady wax tapers and good perfumes, and Mrs. Davers[2] Pam and black aces.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Dec. 21, 1694.

His Majesty, dining yesterday with the Earl of Romney,[3] came in a chair to the Duke of Shrewsbury's in the afternoon, and was there half-an-hour before he

But I must now get him to speak to my Lord Duke * to speak to Lord Godolphin,† to get them despatched, and then I will present him."

[1] *Envoy to the Swiss Cantons.*

[2] *Mrs. Davers was a cousin of Lord Lexington.*

[3] Henry Sidney, Earl of Romney, was Master of the Ordnance, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and a Lord of the Bedchamber. He was supposed to rank next to Lord Portland in the personal favour of the King.

* Duke of Shrewsbury.

† First Commissioner of the Treasury.

went to Council. The Queen has been out of order this day or two; we wish it may only prove a cold, but her physician, Sir Thomas Millington, has this day prescribed her a vomit, which I hear has worked well. I hope by the next post I may send you the account of her being well.

I know not how Sir Richard Verney may succeed in his petition before the House of Lords, which the Attorney-General is to argue against to-morrow se'n-night. He is like to insist upon a clear proof of the pedigree, which my Lord Brook's counsel, who appeared yesterday (together with Sir Richard Verney's), were willing to allow and take for granted, contesting only that he cannot take the name of Brook, but not opposing his being Lord Verney of Brook.[1]

It seems 172 years have passed since any one sat in the House of Lords by virtue of the writ that they now claim by, and it is said there are sixteen or seventeen petitions more of the same nature, that only wait the success of this. I know not whether this be given out to raise up an opposition in those who are like to be set lower by the revival of these old pretensions.

Mr. Cressett to Lord Lexington.

Zell, Dec. 23, 1694.

I believe the Princess was divorced yesterday, some hours before I married the little kinswoman.[2] The Court of Brandenburgh will come to rejoice at Hanover next Saturday, even to the Electoral Prince.

[1] The claim was allowed, and Sir Richard Verney was summoned to the House of Peers, as Lord Willoughby de Broke, on the 25th Feb. 1695.

[2] Mr. Cressett married Madame de la Motte, who was related to the Princess Sophia Dorothea through her mother, the Duchess of Zell.

Lord Galway[1] *to Lord Lexington.*

(Translation.) Turin, Dec. 23, 1694. / Jan. 3, 1695.

We are preparing here for the siege of Casal,[2] which we shall commence the beginning of March. It is, in truth, the only plan which presents a chance of success; and if we do not undertake this siege in the spring, our campaign this year will be as useless as the last. His Royal Highness's feelings are in accordance with the King's wishes.[3]

I will now tell you what I know of the conference at Steckborn: It is certain that Baron Zeyler, the Emperor's commissary[4] at Ratisbonne, was there with a Venetian called Cornaro, a Frenchman, and another unknown person who goes by the name of Acierto, which is apparently a fictitious name, and who has been since arrested at Rhinfeld, but released on his passport. They were also at Stein. You know better than I do that M. de Chinski,[5] at Vienna, states that neither he

[1] On the death of the young Duke of Schomberg, who was killed at the battle of Marsaglia in 1693, Henri de Rouvigny, Viscount Galway, succeeded him in the command of the British troops in Piedmont, and as Minister at Turin. The frank and open character, however, of Lord Galway rendered him a very unequal match for the subtle and faithless Duke of Savoy.

[2] Prince Eugene, who commanded the Imperial forces in Piedmont, insisted upon the siege of Casal as a pledge of the sincerity of the Duke of Savoy, of which he entertained strong and well-founded suspicions. But the Duke succeeded in turning to his own advantage the siege which he was thus unwillingly compelled to undertake.

[3] In the original, "Son Altesse Royale est dans les sentiments que le Roy peut souhaiter." The meaning obviously is, that the Duke of Savoy continued firm to the cause of the Allies; and such was Lord Galway's belief.

[4] The Diet was no longer attended by the Emperor, Electors and Princes of the Empire in person; it had, in fact, become a congress of ministers, to which the Emperor sent his commissary, the Electors and Princes their envoys, and the towns a common or particular agent.

[5] Count Chinski, chancellor of Bohemia, and the principal minister of the Emperor.

nor the Emperor knows anything of this affair, and that M. de Kaunitz, at the Hague, says that he has never heard any mention of it. This is not probable.[1] I believe that it is an attempt on the part of France to sow dissension among the Allies; and having first circulated the rumour of a secret treaty between the crowns of the North and the Protestant Electors, and thereby caused some jealousy at Vienna, they have now, for the purpose of rendering the Protestants uneasy in their turn, set on foot this conference at Steckborn through some Jesuit, under the pretext of its being necessary for the Catholic Princes to take measures to prevent the Protestants from gaining any advantage in the peace, of which they speak so much. It would seem that the Pope[2] and the Venetians have taken part in this affair.

The Baron Zeyler,[3] who is the principal person in the matter, is of the Palatinate: he has turned Catholic since this electorate has fallen into the hands of the Neuburgh branch. The Elector Palatine[4] placed him

[1] Nor was it true: a secret negotiation of the character described by Lord Galway was in progress, and Baron Zeyler, who managed it on the part of the Emperor, was in constant correspondence with the Imperial ministers. The partial success which attended this and other attempts on the part of Louis XIV. to increase the jealousy which existed between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, allies, warned William III. of the danger of protracting the contest, and rendered him more anxious to conclude a peace.

[2] Cardinal Pignatelli succeeded Alexander VIII. Jan. 30, 1691, and assumed the title of Innocent XII.

[3] Burnet says that Zeyler, or Zeiler, was a creature of the Jesuits: he was, therefore, in every way fitted for the conduct of an intrigue of this kind.

[4] Charles, the last Elector Palatine of the Protestant house of Zimmeren, died in 1685; and on his death the collateral branch of Neuburgh, which was warmly attached to the Roman Catholic faith, succeeded to the Palatinate. The Empress was the eldest sister of John William of Neuburgh, Elector Palatine, who had also married Mary Anne Josepha, the sister of the Emperor. She died in 1689.

in the service of His Imperial Majesty; and, if I am not deceived, the Emperor is ashamed of the proceeding, and dares neither to avow the Baron Zeyler nor to punish him. Perhaps my conjectures may be ill founded: you will easily learn, for you are on the spot.

Lord Paget to Lord Lexington.

Dec. 24, 1694.

The Grand Vizier has sent his army to their winter quarters, and is returned to Adrianople well satisfied, as he would make men believe, with the last summer's expedition. It is said that if the violent rains had not hindered his design, he had defeated the Imperial army, and taken Peterwaradin: that however they returned to Belgrade without any loss or inconvenience. This report, howsoever false it be, quiets the Grand Signior, whose great concern is for the loss of Scio. The Grand Vizier has orders to use all means possible to recover it, and great preparations are making to march into Morea next spring, to carry a diversion thither, that they may have an opportunity to land men on the isle. They threaten mightily what they will do; but I think they will not be able to remove the Venetians from their quarters, where they have had leisure to fortify themselves. [1]

[1] The Republic of Venice declared war against the Porte in 1683; and their Ambassador having by stealth sent the declaration to the Divan, escaped in the disguise of a sailor.

Astonished by their own success at the commencement of this contest, the Venetians were in the habit of calling it the Miraculous War: but François Morosini, their celebrated Doge, and the Captain-General of their forces, died in 1693. From that time the power and energy of the Republic rapidly diminished; and in 1701 her position was thus described by the Duke of Mantua. He said that she was irresolute in her councils, tardy in her measures, torn by factions, embarrassed by the insolence of her younger citizens, and

I lately received the Grand Vizier's letter, that calls me to Adrianople, whither I intend to go next week.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Dec. 25, 1694.

Here has been an universal concern for Her Majesty's indisposition, but none more sensible of it than the King, who would never be persuaded to lie out of the Queen's bedchamber, and therefore had his field bed brought in thither, to be at hand and ready upon all occasions to assist her. It was not till this morning that we have had any abatement in our apprehensions.

On Sunday, about nine in the morning, the Queen began to break out with spots, from whence the doctors concluded she had the small pox, and continued in that persuasion till last night that the nurse who lives with my Lady Pulteney, and is now appointed to attend Her Majesty, discovered it to be more like the measles, which the physicians being called to advise upon, Dr. Ratcliff came over immediately to the nurse's opinion, but Sir Thomas Millington suspended his judgment, as thinking there were symptoms both of the one and the other. The Queen slept several hours last night, and waked in very good temper, and has continued so ever since, getting some more sleep this afternoon, so that the King is more and more satisfied it is the measles, accompanied with an erysipelas, or rash. She is full of spots in her arms and extreme parts, and her head is a little swelled, and her eyes contracted, that she can

destitute alike of treasures, of generals, and of armies. *Vide* Daru's Hist. of Venice.

Scio was taken by the Venetians in Sept. 1694, but was shortly afterwards recovered by the Turks.

scarce see; but we hope all will go off again in a short time.

The doctors do say that there was a puzzling composition in this distemper; but if Her Majesty goes on in this way of recovery, as, we thank God, there is great probability of it, the nurse will clearly have the better of the physicians, for they all along, expecting those spots should have filled, and finding they did not, began to think the Queen in danger; and there was a great dejection of people's spirits till this happy alteration.

Duke of Shrewsbury[1] *to Lord Lexington.*

London, Dec. 28, 1694.

It is my duty more than my inclination that obliges me to trouble you at this time; I should not else be fond of being the first to acquaint you with so ill news as this will bring. About a week since, her Majesty was taken with an indisposition which seemed at first but slight, but turned afterwards to the small-pox, and that of so fatal a kind, that as soon as the physicians agreed that to be her disease, their appre-

[1] On the formation of his first administration in 1689, William III. attempted to conciliate both the Whig and the Tory parties by the appointment of the Earls of Shrewsbury and Nottingham as joint Secretaries of State.

Lord Shrewsbury, however, retired from office in 1690, but in 1694 he received a dukedom and the Garter, and was induced, or rather forced, by the King to resume the Seals, which were at that time taken from Lord Nottingham.

The Duke of Shrewsbury was regarded with especial favour by the King; and yet there can be little doubt that he was indirectly and occasionally, at least, in communication with the court of St. Germains, and that William was aware of it. The Duke, however, was naturally timid, but not treacherous; and the King probably attributed this want of good faith to his fear of the consequences, should James II. succeed in regaining the crown, and not to any real desire to restore the exiled Monarch. This, indeed, would appear to be the true solution of an enigma which is otherwise incomprehensible.

hensions for her life grew very great; and ill symptoms increasing upon her, it pleased God this morning, about one of the clock, to take her out of this world. Never did grief appear more general in a town, or more real sorrow in a court; and his Majesty's afflictions have been so passionate, and the neglect of his health so great, that it has given too just grounds for that request the Lords and Commons have made to him to take more care of his own person.

In this dismal scene, it is a considerable comfort to perceive such ready and warm resolutions in both Houses to defend his Majesty against his enemies at home and abroad.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Dec. 28, 1694.

My Lord Duke[1] writing to your Lordship on this sad occasion, there will be little left for me to trouble you with; but I can't but pay my tribute of sorrow to the memory of so great a Queen, whom we expected to be a more lasting blessing to these nations. But it has pleased God to frustrate our hopes, so that you will now receive an account far different from my last, the alteration beginning that very night; for the next morning the physicians receded from their former opinion of the Queen's having the measles, and were then satisfied it was the small-pox, though a very unkind sort of them, with a mixture of St. Anthony's fire, which is said to have occasioned the swelling about her eyes and mouth. Some few spots that were upon her temples began then to appear discoloured, and there were

[1] The Duke of Shrewsbury.

some other ill symptoms; whereupon more physicians were sent for—viz. Stockham, Coladon, and Gibbons, and the Queen was let blood in the temples, and many blisters drawn. She got a little rest towards the former part of that night, but any glimpse of hopes soon vanished again, and death seemed to advance upon her, she visibly declining, and her pulse growing weaker in spite of Sir Walter Raleigh's cordial and King Charles's drops. The Archbishop of Canterbury[1] made known to her her condition on Wednesday, without any dismay,[2] as one long prepared for all extremities; and yesterday she received the Sacrament with great devotion and resignation. Last night a Council was called at Kensington, and some of the physicians were sent for to give an account how they found the Queen. Sir Thomas Millington told them they had observed the Queen to decline very fast till that noon, insomuch that they expected a speedy issue of it, but that she had not grown worse since; but upon her taking the bezoar cordial she appeared to be a little more lively, and that Dr. Ratcliff thought her pulse to rise again, but he could not say he perceived any such thing. He told them the spots appeared all along but like so many flea bites, none of them raising the skin, which continued (as he expressed it) smooth like glass.

My Lord President[3] was then sent from the Council to his Majesty, to desire he would have some consideration of his own health; which was very necessary advice, since his Majesty has so much neglected

[1] Dr. Tenison, Bishop of Lincoln, was appointed to the primacy on the death of Archbishop Tillotson.

[2] So in the original. The meaning, however, of the sentence is obvious.

[3] The Duke of Leeds.

himself since the Queen's first falling ill. It was but two nights since that he has been persuaded to lie out of her bedchamber, and then he would only remove to the next room. He has scarce got any sleep or taken any nourishment, and there is hardly any instance of so passionate a sorrow as the King has been overtaken with, which seemed excessive while life yet lasted, and 'tis risen to a greater degree since; so that he can hardly bear the sight of those that were most agreeable to him before. He had some fits like fainting yesterday, but to-day they have prevailed on him to bleed. Last night the Queen grew delirious, and continued so till she died.

A council has been called this evening to consider of burying the body, but I don't hear anything is yet resolved on. I hear it has been opened and embalmed, and that to-morrow night it will be removed to Whitehall. The King continues still at Kensington; they say he will remove only till the mourning furniture is put up, but whether it will be out of the house, or only down stairs, I don't hear. My Lord Steward[1] has offered him Arlington House.

I hope the vigour of the Parliament will keep the ill-intentioned in awe. There was a rumour begun to be spread to see how it would take, as if the Parliament were dissolved by the Queen's death, they being called by writs in both their names.[2] I know not whether any member of either house were possessed with that notion, but none appeared to own it; and if they had, they would have found themselves but coarsely treated for doctrines that tend only to subvert the Government.

[1] The Duke of Devonshire.

[2] It is said that this point was raised by the Earls of Nottingham and Rochester.

So that if his Majesty be pleased to moderate his grief, as I hear he is in something better temper this evening, I hope our affairs will go in the same train, though the death of this excellent Queen must always be reckoned a grievous loss.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Jan. 1, 1694.[1]

I sent you by the last post the most afflicting news of the Queen's death, and therefore shall not return to that melancholy subject, but proceed only to tell you that the body was opened on Friday, and embalmed on Saturday; those who were present at the doing it have, according to custom, delivered their observations to my Lord Chamberlain[2] in writing, and sealed up; and they are under an oath not to disclose them but when required or permitted. The Council have had several meetings about the Queen's burial, and are of opinion it ought to be with as much decency and show as may be consistent with a prudent and necessary frugality. The body is to lie for some days in state at Whitehall, and in order thereunto it was brought thither about three o'clock on Sunday morning, and is laid in the Great Bedchamber. The bowels were buried soon after at Westminster, and the mourning furniture is now putting up at Whitehall and Kensington, where I find his Majesty intends to continue. He is still very disconsolate, and does not well bear any access to him, and not at all as yet to hear of business. There was a necessity of admitting the two Houses yesterday, but in what condition he was to receive them will best appear

[1] Old style.

[2] Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset and Middlesex, the patron of Prior.

by his answer to their addresses, which, as short as it is, he had no small difficulty to deliver, his grief interrupting him. It can't be expected but he must look thin, and like one wasted with sorrow, but he has not been blooded as was reported, the reasons ceasing for which the doctors once thought it necessary; so I hope what is excessive in his sorrow will wear off by degrees, and that he will begin to admit the diversion of business, which must be allowed to have its turn. On Saturday his Majesty sent the Earl of Romney to the Prince[1] to return his compliment, and thank him for his visit, who I have already mentioned was on Friday at the bedchamber door to inquire of the King's health. My Lord Duke[2] is not yet got rid of his pain: it has since Sunday last occasioned a weakness in his sight, which must needs be very mortifying, considering how he lost his other eye. This has not hindered but he ventured out to see the King both on Saturday and yesterday, but it could not be to talk of business, his Majesty not being yet able to bear it.

The Office paper will inform you that all the two Houses did on Saturday was to form their addresses,[3] and yesterday to present them at Kensington, where I find his Majesty intends to continue.

I know not whether they will meddle any more with the Lancashire business, no day being named for it; but if they do, I hear it can be proved after all that Mr. Walmesly was in England when his servant says he was in France, and that he landed at Whitehaven.[4]

The Lord Howard of Escrick,[5] who not long since

[1] Prince George of Denmark.
[2] Of Shrewsbury.
[3] Of condolence.
[4] Mr. Walmesly was implicated in the Lancashire conspiracy, but was acquitted with the rest of the accused.
[5] Charles, fourth and last Lord

married the Lady Inchiquin, has left her already for the sake of another woman, whom he was in league with before, and it is said they are both gone together for Holland. I find all his lady's concern now is to prove, if she can, that he was first married to that woman, for since she is like to lose her husband she is desirous to preserve her jointure.

My Lord Cutts is going down to Plymouth to make the draughts of soldiers to be sent to Jamaica; they are to be twelve hundred men, that are to compose a regiment of six companies, under the command of Colonel Lillingston.

Mrs. Booth, the fine dancer, is lately married to Mr. Hudson, a young gentleman of the North.

Mr. Russell[1] has now a commission sent him of Captain-General of the Fleet.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Jan. 4, 1694.[2]

I am come so late this evening from Kensington, where I have been attending for the letters of notification,[3] that I shall have little time to write to your Lordship; but in recompense I can give you a better account how the King does, which I am sure your Lordship will be best satisfied to know. I can tell you, therefore, what I have from the Archbishop of Canterbury (who scarce stirs from thence), that the King is

Howard of Escrick, in 1694, succeeded his father William, the notorious Lord Howard, on whose testimony Lord Russell and Colonel Sidney were convicted.

[1] Edward Russell, created in 1697 Earl of Orford, was at this time in command of the British fleet in the Mediterranean, and at the head of the Admiralty.

[2] Old style.

[3] Of the Queen's death.

much better than he was, and begins to think of affairs. His sleep and his appetite are more regular. This day he walked into the garden, which he had not done before; only a day or two ago he was carried out thither in his chair: he does not yet allow access, even to great men. Some of them have been with him, but his grief rising at the first sight of them, makes them that they can't continue long in his presence; but that wears off too. My Lord Duke[1] has been there two or three times, but he does not yet admit him to enter into several particulars he has to lay before him. I suppose he may have a better opportunity to-morrow, when his Grace thinks of going again.

The Princess,[2] I hear, has, within two or three days, writ a very submissive letter to the King, so that she is entirely disposed to be wholly governed by his Majesty; and there is no prospect for any to build their hopes upon a division of those who so well understand how much it is their interest to be united. The Council have had frequent meetings about the Queen's funeral, and it is at last referred to a select committee to adjust all particulars, and it is like to be done with more solemnity than was at first discoursed of. It is thought all things may be ready for the Queen's lying in state towards the latter end of next week, and that she may be buried the week following.

[1] Of Shrewsbury.

[2] The breach between the King and the Princess was of long standing; and indeed their relative positions rendered it impossible that any real cordiality should exist between them. It is said that the letter referred to by Mr. Vernon was written by the Princess at the instance of Lord Sunderland, who, in thus effecting a reconciliation between the King and his sister-in-law, rendered an important service to the former; for the title of William to the Crown had become even more defective than before, by the death of the Queen.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to Lord Lexington.

London, Jan. 8, $169\frac{5}{4}$.

Yours of the 5th, 8th, 12th, 15th, by express, and 15th by the post, with one since of the 19th December, Old Style, want an answer; but I hope your Lordship will consider that as my own indisposition during this whole time has not allowed me to be very assiduous in watching the fittest opportunity to receive his Majesty's commands, so if my health had been better, and my diligence greater, the passionate concern his Majesty has, and still continues to express, would not admit my receiving from him such a thorough information of affairs as is necessary to my great ignorance, before I could be enabled to make pertinent answers to matters of so great consequence as are contained in your Lordship's letters; for besides my inability and want of experience in the management of affairs of this nature, I am so great a stranger to all proceedings, that perhaps you will wonder at it; having never had the least light or intimation of this treaty from any of the ministers abroad, except what I have received from your Lordship, or been acquainted with the particulars of it from anybody at home, so that I am very glad you are furnished from other hands with what to answer upon the meeting at Maestricht. Had you expected any information or to have been helped with an excuse from me, I must have assured your Lordship it is what I am now as much unacquainted with as any gentleman that lives in the country, having never heard otherwise of it than as they may do in news letters.

My long knowledge of your Lordship makes me not in the least doubt you have pursued your instructions

with great exactness; but those you received at your parting with his Majesty having not yet been communicated to me, I hope it will nowhere be expected I should say anything upon what I have not seen.

As soon as it is possible to obtain so long an audience of the King as will be requisite to lay your letters before him, and to instruct my own ignorance, I will give you the best account I can of his Majesty's commands; but the first being difficult, and the second perhaps invincible, I cannot promise when I shall be able to perform this. [1]

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Jan. 8, 1694. [2]

The King begins now to set about business, and to appear more openly. The bedchamber people are

[1] I have inserted this letter as a curious proof of the manner in which the business of the Government was carried on at that time.

It will be observed that the Secretary of State frankly avows that he is entirely ignorant of that which it was his chief business to superintend and direct. Nor were the circumstances themselves unimportant, for it will be remembered that at the meeting at Maestricht, to which the Duke refers, Louis XIV. had offered terms of peace to the Allies, which terms had been refused.

But the Duke of Shrewsbury was probably as well informed on this subject as most of his colleagues; for William III. retained under his own immediate superintendence and control the conduct of all important foreign negotiations. He was, moreover, annually absent from England for many months. With the exception of the Earl of Portland, none of his ministers accompanied him; and the orders of the King were generally conveyed to the British envoys at their several stations, through Lord Portland or Mr. Blathwayt. During these intervals the Secretary of State was frequently entirely ignorant of the negotiations in progress; and the despatches which he continued occasionally to address to the ministers abroad were mere matters of form; at least they contained no directions, although they were probably valuable to those to whom they were sent, as giving an account of the gossip of the day, both political and private. In the foreign policy therefore of England at this time the ostensible Ministers of the Crown had but little share.

[2] Old style.

admitted to waiting, which they were not before, and it began with the Earl of Romney's turn on Saturday. All belonging to the bedchamber have been let in ever since, but the doors are not yet open to others. The Prince waited on the King on Sunday, and was kindly received. The Princess should have been there yesterday, but was taken ill, and there are some appearances as if she were in danger of miscarrying; this may defer her going to Kensington for some days. I hope an accommodation is secured by reasonable submissions on one side, and their being accepted on the other; but as to her removing to St. James's, I can't say how forward that is.[1] The Queen's burial is not like to be near so soon as was talked of; the preparations will be great, and require time—for aught I know, to the middle of next month.

Mr. Cressett to Lord Lexington.

Hanover, Jan. 10, 1694.[2]

The impertinent rejoicings of this Court your Lordship will believe are very provoking to me at present; but I must stay in the town, though I shall never be present at their opera. The Elector of Brandenburgh is here, but goes away on Saturday, and has a mind to see Dresden shortly; the Electress stays to the end of their unseasonable carnival. They have dragged the good Duke of Zell here to see the triumph for the divorce; he has heartily wept the Queen's death.

[1] The Princess had been deprived of her apartments in 1692.

[2] Old style.

Mr. Stanhope[1] *to Lord Lexington.*

Madrid, Jan. $\frac{10, 1694.}{20, 1695.}$

'Tis necessary to know the ill as well as the good of our affairs, and I assure your Lordship I can send you nothing good from hence at present, nor have any prospect of doing it in haste. This Court has not begun yet to make the least preparations, either by levies of men or money, for their defence in Catalonia[2] or Navarre next summer; they seem to depend on the coming of foreign troops, as Germans, Italians, and Irish. What grounds they have to hope from Germany and Italy, your Lordship will know better than I, though I believe not much without money: there is no more than in Switzerland: and as to the Irish they expected, I believe they will soon be disabused. The Marqûes de Gastanaga,[3] when he arrived at Barcelona, found not above 3000 men, and those in want of all necessaries, insomuch that he has since pressed earnestly for leave to quit his new government, if they would not send him speedy supplies both of men and money; upon which, four days ago, they sent him 30,000 crowns. This Court is so divided in factions, that they mind nothing but their private quarrels, and

[1] Alexander Stanhope, British minister at Madrid, was the youngest son of Philip, first Earl of Chesterfield. Mr. Stanhope was the father of James, first Earl Stanhope.

[2] The campaign in Catalonia of the preceding year had placed the greater part of the province at the mercy of the French troops. In May, 1694, the Maréchal de Noailles, who commanded the French forces in that quarter, defeated, on the banks of the Ter, the Spanish army under the command of the Duke de Escalcona.—He then reduced in succession some of the strongest places in the province; and Barcelona itself was threatened.

[3] The Marques de Gastanaga had recently succeeded the Duke de Escalcona, as viceroy of Catalonia.

wholly neglect all care of the public; the prevailing party thinking it of more importance to remove a German lady, Madame Berlips, her son lately made Envoy of Poland, and one or two more of the young Queen's [1] servants, from about her person and the Court, than the providing an army to save the monarchy.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Jan. 11, 1694. [2]

The Princess of Denmark has not yet been well enough to venture to Kensington, but I believe she may go thither to-morrow or next day. I don't find there is any apprehension of her miscarrying. They have now guards [3] appointed them, both of horse and foot. I hope all things are disposed to a sincere union of interests, which cannot be disjoined without great prejudice. I hear the Earl of Clarendon has desired leave to wait on the Princess, but had for answer that for many reasons she did not think it fit; and one particularly was, she did not desire to see any who had not first waited on the King. [4] I can't omit mentioning, that in the debate in the House of Commons on Wednesday, whether those should be excused from paying double taxes who took the oath of fidelity, though they did not that of supremacy, (which was chiefly set on foot by some of my Lord Dover's [5] friends,) Sir Edward Seymour was against it, saying

[1] Maria Anna, sister of the Elector Palatine and of the Empress of Germany, was married to Charles II. of Spain, in 1690. She was his second wife.

[2] Old style.

[3] The Princess had been deprived of her guards in 1692.

[4] The Earl of Clarendon was a nonjuror.

[5] Henry Jermyn, created Lord Dover 1685, was a Roman Catholic.

this was not a time of day to compound with Papists, and wished too much of it had not been done already.

The Lords intend to appear at the funeral in their robes, by reason they come as a House. The King is still so far retired, that none came to the levée but such as are of the bedchamber. There is a discourse as if the King would remove to some pleasant house near the town, while Kensington is new furnishing. I think no doubt is to be made but his Majesty will make the campaign as if this misfortune had not befallen us.

Lord Galway to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Turin, Jan. $\frac{12, 1694.}{22, 1695.}$

I thank you for the information[1] which you give me with respect to his Royal Highness.[2] I confess that one may be deceived with regard to this Prince, and I am not so bold as to rely on my own acuteness; but there is not a courtier, a minister, or indeed any one, who suspects him of wavering. I believe him to

[1] Lord Lexington had informed Lord Galway that grave suspicions were entertained of the good faith of the Duke of Savoy. It is curious to observe how completely the Duke succeeded in deluding Lord Galway into the belief of his continued and firm attachment to a cause which he had for years betrayed, and which he was now on the point of openly deserting.

[2] The Duke of Savoy: Victor Amadeus, afterwards King of Sardinia, equally renowned for consummate ability, and notorious for his disregard of all solemn engagements, was born in 1666, and succeeded his father, Charles Emanuel, as Duke of Savoy in 1675.

Surrounded on all sides by princes more powerful than himself, and constantly at war with one or other of them, his career was nevertheless one of almost uninterrupted advancement; but having at length obtained everything to which he could aspire, he cast his honours from him in disgust, and died in retirement in 1732.

be true; he only fears that peace may be made before the French are reduced to give up Pignerol[1] to him. Ever since he declared war, the King of France has done everything in his power to recall him to his interests; and failing in this, to disparage him among the Allies, in order that our want of confidence in him might alienate him from the League. He is, however, a prince of great penetration, and knows his own interests too well to labour for the augmentation of the power of France. He is exasperated against her. Through the subsidies which he receives, he has a larger revenue than if he were re-established in all his estates. He aims at power, and wishes to maintain a large military force, but this can never be in concert with France; and lastly, if he were not well disposed, he would not increase his foreign troops. Besides those of the Emperor and of the King of Spain, he has in his pay 4000 men of the King of England, 3000 of the Elector of Brandenburgh, 1500 of the Elector of Bavaria, and we are, moreover, raising a battalion of Swiss.

Mr. Prior to Lord and Lady Lexington.

Hague, Jan. $\frac{24}{14}$, 1695.

Since the horrid loss of Her Majesty, at naming of which my Lord will sigh and my Lady will cry, I protest I have written nothing but nonsense, which is a present I humbly offer to some of my correspondents, but it is not so very proper for you. Upon this occa-

[1] The Castle of Pignerol, which was of great strength, was used as a state prison as well as a fortress. It will be remembered that Fouquet, Lauzun, Matthioli, and many other distinguished prisoners were confined there.

sion I have lost my senses and 100*l.* a year,[1] which is something for a philosopher of my circumstances; but Deus providebit, which being interpreted is (to my Lady) God will provide, is my motto (and for it I hope Mrs. Davers will have a good opinion of me, for it is taken from the Scripture). I have given notice of this cruel change to the States and Ministers here, in a long trailing cloak and a huge band, the one quite dirty with this thaw, the other really slubbered with my tears. I am so much in earnest in this sad affair that people think I am something very considerable in England, that have such a regard to the public, and it makes me cry afresh when they ask me in what county my lands are. Whether this proceeds from loyalty or interest God knows, but I have truly cried a basin full. Je ne puis plus; 'tis impossible for me to tell you the sorrow that reigns universally in Holland: these people, who never had any passions before, are now touched, and marble weeps. I dare not presume to tell my Lord how I think our affairs will go in England; he has better correspondence there than I; I only say we expect the King will make the campaign, and the public be left in the hands of commissioners. I have had here my Lord Paget's secretary, who is gone into England on his Lordship's affairs; he speaks of my Lord Lexington as he ought, and not one word of his own master, which is a sign in whose house bread and beer is most plentiful, for amongst all secretaries there is a great correspondence between the brain and the stomach. Stepney is not yet come from England; he has got 4*l.* a day, and 300*l.* equipage

[1] Prior held a small appointment in the establishment of Queen Mary.

money, with the advantage of a frost that keeps him on that side. God Almighty turn all ill from your Lordship and your family, and make us all less melancholy.

I am, very sincerely,

(My Lord and good Lady),

which I think was the style in Cranmer's time,

&c. &c.

Lord Portland to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Kensington, Jan. $\frac{15}{25}$, no date but 1695.

You will not be surprised at my long silence when you learn the cause. The sad loss which we have sustained by the death of the Queen has quite overwhelmed me. Apart from the interest which I take in all that concerns the King, and the public, I and my family have lost, as it were, everything, and I assure you that I can scarcely recover myself. No one in the world could have been more generally regretted; the King is inconsolable, and indeed we have had great cause to be alarmed for his health. Thank God this fear is now passed, and the strength of feeling and of reason, which caused him fully to appreciate the extent of his loss, now begins to enable him to bear it with resignation and patience. One consolation remains to us in our misfortune—our enemies will gain nothing by it either here or abroad. It seems indeed to have roused the spirit of all. Every one wishes, in his heart, that His Majesty should not now leave the kingdom, but all sensible persons are so well aware that the critical state of the affairs of Europe requires his pre-

sence beyond the sea, that they will rather request him to go than press him to stay here. Of this you may give strong assurances to those who have any cause for anxiety on this subject. From the unanimity of feeling, moreover, which now exists, there will be much less to apprehend at home than has heretofore been the case. You will learn from other letters that all goes on well in Parliament. Mr. Stepney is ready to start for Saxony.

P.S. The ministers of Spain here and in Holland[1] press the King and the States to send from 7000 to 8000 men into Catalonia, as the only means of saving that province, and indeed Spain itself. It is impossible to comply with this request. They desire to charge us with the whole expense of the war, while they do nothing themselves, and yet they cry out against peace, and refuse to negotiate with France except on the conditions of the Treaty of the Pyrenees.[2] This is extraordinary conduct, and it will be well that you should speak to the Marques de Courgomanero,[3] in order that he may inform his court that it is impossible to save them if they do nothing for themselves.

[1] The Marques de Canales was Spanish Ambassador in London. In 1699 this Minister protested against the second treaty of partition in so violent a manner, that William ordered him to quit England without delay. Don Bernardo de Quiros was Spanish minister at the Hague.

[2] The Treaty of the Pyrenees was concluded in 1659: the conditions were much more favourable to Spain than those of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, concluded in 1668; or of Nimeguen, in 1678-9. By the last treaty the province of Franche Comté and the most important fortresses of the Flemish frontier were ceded to France.

[3] The Spanish Ambassador at Vienna.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Jan. 18, 1694.[1]

Mr. Secretary Trenchard,[2] I think, grows rather worse, so that it is believed we may have another secretary declared before the King goes over for Flanders, but there is no mention who the person is like to be.

Lord Portland to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Richmond, $\frac{\text{Jan. } 25}{\text{Feb. } 4}$, no date but 1695.

I hope that you will have received my last letter: I forgot to answer you with respect to Sir James Montgomery,[3] whom we had thought to have been in

[1] Old style.

[2] Sir John Trenchard was appointed Secretary of State 1693. He was a calm and sedate man; had been engaged far with the Duke of Monmouth; had lived much abroad, and it was supposed that his appointment was owing to the influence of the Earl of Sunderland (Tindal). Sir J. Trenchard was the first man who moved the exclusion (of the Duke of York) in the House of Commons. *Vide* Burnet.

[3] Sir James Montgomery was one of the three commissioners deputed by the Convention in Scotland to carry to William and Mary the offer of the Scotch Crown. On the formation of the new administration in that country a considerable post was offered to him, which he refused, as an inadequate reward for the services which he had performed. He then wrote, in conjunction with Ferguson, a pamphlet called 'The Grievances,' which gave great offence; and shortly afterwards he joined, or rather organized a conspiracy against the Government, in which many of the Scotch nobles, and other persons of distinction, both in Scotland and England, were engaged. This plot was discovered by Lord Portland and Bishop Burnet, and Sir James Montgomery himself made some disclosures to the Queen; but failing to obtain from the King the terms which he required, he fled the country; and Burnet says that after this time "he continued in perpetual plots; was once taken, but made his escape; and, at last, spleen and vexation put an end to a turbulent life."

The Duke of Shrewsbury sent, by the same post, similar instructions to Lord Lexington for the seizure of Sir James Montgomery. This attempt to capture a refugee in a foreign land is by no means in accordance with the moderation which was generally displayed by William in dealing with those who had been engaged in plots against his govern-

the other world for some time; but if he be still in this, His Majesty would wish you (in case he should fall into your hands) to think of some mode of sending him here in safety.

The King has come here in this bitterly cold weather, while Kensington is hung with black, in order that he may not hear the noise. He returns to-morrow, and the day after, he will admit everybody to see him.

Prince de Vaudemont to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Brussels, Feb. 4, 1695.

* * * *

In a letter of the 21st of last month, his Majesty has done me the honour to inform me that by March he will be at the Hague, whither he commands me to repair at that time.

This information has arrived most opportunely to arrest the mischief which would have arisen from a continuance of the uncertainty with respect to his journey. It is certain that France hoped that the King of Great Britain would be obliged to remain in England, and expected to profit by the opportunity. This is the tenor of our advices from Paris, which also state that immediately on the death of the Queen of England, the Most Christian King summoned a council, in which it was determined to despatch a courier to the Count d'Avaux[1] in Sweden, with instructions to take every

ment. But Lord Balcarres states, in a letter to James II., that something which had passed in private rendered Sir James Montgomery peculiarly obnoxious to the King.

[1] The Count d'Avaux was at this time French minister at the court of Stockholm. It will be remembered that he accompanied King James in his expedition to Ireland in 1689.

possible precaution to prevent their giving the daughter of the King of Sweden to his Britannic Majesty, in case he had any thoughts of remarrying, it being considered that in the present conjuncture of affairs this alliance would be most prejudicial to the interests of France. Although there is at present no question of any such thing, this fear on the part of France with regard to such an alliance deserves consideration.

(Signed) HENRI CHARLES DE LORRAINE.[1]

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Jan. 29, 1694.[2]

The King returned from Richmond on Saturday last. He saw company on Sunday morning, and will continue to do so, but the time for it is now changed to an hour before dinner, and the like before supper. His Majesty, God be thanked, appears to be as well as ever.

They say everything will be in readiness for the Queen's lying in state towards the latter end of this week; whether it will be then done or not I know not, but whenever they begin, the funeral will follow in eight or ten days more. There are some things, it seems, not yet adjusted, particularly whether any of the Lords should assist at the carrying the Royal banners, according to custom, since they now resolve to appear as a House; and till all things are determined relating to the Lords,

[1] The Prince de Vaudemont was the son of Charles IV. Duke of Lorraine, by the Princesse de Cautecroix, whom he married during the lifetime of his first wife, the Duchess Nicolæa. The Prince therefore was rightly held to be illegitimate; and the Duke of Lorraine was succeeded in his dominions by his nephew, who was, however, speedily dispossessed of them by Louis XIV.

[2] Old style.

the Commons defer entering upon the consideration of what part they are to have in the procession. My Lord Duke of Shrewsbury has forced himself to come abroad these two days, as thinking it fit for him to hear what passed in the examination of the Lancashire business, though my Lord Nottingham [1] had before declared that no reflection could lie, in this matter, upon him, since he had done no more than the duty of his place required.

Lord Paget to Lord Lexington.

Adrianople, Jan. 29, S. V. 1695.

Upon the 23rd instant I arrived here; the 24th I sent to desire an audience of the Grand Vizier, who promised I should have it the 31st, which would be the first day he could be at liberty to receive and discourse with me as he desired. I had good reason to hope my propositions would have been well received, for I know the Grand Vizier and the Caimacan of this place were well inclined to hear me, and not averse to a reasonable peace: I therefore desired earnestly to see these Ministers, but upon Sunday the 27th instant I was extremely surprised to hear the Grand Signor [2] was dead. He died that morning, as I am informed, of a catarrh, which carried him off in a few hours. He desired, before his death, to speak with his successor, who would not be persuaded to go to him; so that with his attend-

[1] The testimony of Lord Nottingham on this point was of the greater value, because on his dismissal from office in 1694 the Duke of Shrewsbury succeeded him as Secretary of State.

Lord Nottingham was the recognised chief of the Tory party. Although inferior in ability to some of his contemporaries, his integrity was unquestioned, and his reputation unsullied by any act of mean compliance or treachery.

[2] Achmet II.

ants he left his desires that his young son might be suffered to live. So soon as he was dead, Mustapha, eldest son to Mahomet IV.,[1] was saluted and proclaimed Emperor, and all passed without any disturbance, disorder, or inconvenience in very few hours. The body of the deceased Achmet was despatched that very day to Constantinople, and the Sultana had orders to retire to Constantinople immediately; also expresses were sent thither to carry the news of this Emperor's exaltation to his mother, who is in Constantinople, from whence she is expected here in a few days. He has, for the present, confirmed the Grand Vizier in his place, restoring the seal to him, and giving him a caftan lined with zibeline (or sables). It is said the Grand Signor will not do anything till his mother's arrival, for whom he expresses a great kindness and particular esteem, so that she is like to have a great part in the management of affairs. She is a native of Candia,[2] taken from thence when that place was first possessed by the Turks. Her father was Protopapas[3] of that place. She is reported to be a cunning, intriguing woman. Yesterday the Grand Signor asked the Treasurer what money he had in the treasury; he said fifteen purses. He inquired what was become of the rest; it was told him his predecessor had disposed of it. "'T is well," said he, "and I shall take it from them that have received it." He is a mettled man, about

[1] Mustapha II., son of Mahomet IV., who was deposed in 1688, and was succeeded by his brother, Solyman III., upon whose death in 1691 Achmet II. ascended the throne.

[2] Candia was first attacked in 1645 by the Turks, who did not, however, gain entire possession of the island until 1674.

[3] Protopapas, chief priest or patriarch. The patriarch of Candia wore a triple tiara, and possessed the privilege of writing his signature in red ink.

thirty-three years old, strong, and a great lover of all manly exercises. I fear he will prove a troublesome neighbour; however, I can say nothing certainly yet.

The appointment for my audience continues yet; so soon as I have had it, I shall be able to send your Lordship a better account of affairs.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Feb. 5, 1694.[1]

The Queen is to lie in state on Monday next, and the week after she will be buried. The Duchess of Somerset[2] attends the funeral as chief mourner, and two Duchesses assist in carrying her train, viz., the Duchess of Grafton[3] and Duchess of Southampton,[4] and there are to be fourteen Countesses assistant mourners. To all which, as well the chief as the assistants, mourning is to be given, they expecting it, since they do not go as Peeresses, but by appointment. Last night the King sent for the principal servants of the Queen, viz., the Marquis of Winchester, my Lord Villiers, and Mr. Nicholas the treasurer. It was to tell them the Queen had in a particular manner recommended to him her family, and therefore, as he should otherwise have taken care of them, he now thought himself more strictly obliged to it, and, as he had de-

[1] Old style.

[2] Elizabeth, Duchess of Somerset, only child and heiress of Jocceline Percy, Earl of Northumberland.

[3] Isabella, Duchess of Grafton, only child and heiress of Henry Bennett, Earl of Arlington, and Countess of Arlington in her own right. The Duke, her husband, died in 1690, of a wound received at the siege of Cork. The Duchess married in 1694 Sir Thomas Hanmer, who was in 1714 elected to the chair of the House of Commons.

[4] Anne, Duchess of Southampton, daughter of Sir William Pulteney of Misterton, county of Leicester.

ferred sending for them sooner, because of the sad thoughts this brought to his remembrance, so the same reasons would not suffer him to enlarge further; and tears expressed the rest on both sides.[1]

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Feb. 8, 1694.[2]

You have a short account in the Office paper of the great trial on Wednesday, between Pride and the Earl of Bath. The first, being sister's son to George Duke of Albemarle,[3] thinks he has a title to the estate if he could prove bastardy upon Duke Christopher, by virtue of Duke George's settlement, who gives his estate to Christopher and his issue, and, for want of such issue, to his own heirs general. The point, therefore, to be proved was, that the old Duchess of Albemarle had two husbands living in the year 1652, when Duke Christopher was born. It was first insisted on by the Earl of Bath's counsel,[4] with whom were joined

[1] The Marquis of Winchester, eldest son of the Duke of Bolton, was Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Villiers was Master of the Horse to the Queen.

The King redeemed his promise. Lord Winchester was in 1697 named one of the Lords Justices of Ireland. Lord Villiers was in 1695 appointed Minister Plenipotentiary at the Hague; in 1697 he was created Earl of Jersey; and he held in succession during the reign of William the high offices of Ambassador to Paris, Secretary of State, and Lord Chamberlain.

[2] Old style.

[3] The celebrated George Monk, Duke of Albemarle.

[4] Sir John Granville, the representative of one of the most ancient families in Great Britain, distinguished himself when very young by his loyalty and gallant conduct in the field during the contest between Charles I. and the Parliament. In 1660 he was the chief instrument in the negotiation with his kinsman, General Monk, by which the Restoration was effected.

In reward for his eminent services Charles II. created Sir John Granville Earl of Bath, and he also passed a warrant under the Privy Seal,

some counsel for the Earl of Montague [1] (I suppose pro formâ, to keep up his pretensions), that no proof of bastardy ought to be admitted after the party's decease, but the Court were of opinion they should proceed. Then it was agreed that the old Duchess had been formerly married to one Radford, a perfumer in the Exchange, and that he broke long before '52, and went beyond sea. All that the Earl of Bath's counsel could say to it was, he was never heard of since his first absenting himself; but Pride produced two old women to swear they knew Radford, and saw him after the year '52; nay, one went so far as to swear he outlived the Duchess, and was by when she was put into her coffin, and received a pension from her as long as she lived, with many other circumstances that must have carried the point if she had been believed; but they were both thought to swear too much, and the verdict was brought in for my Lord Bath next morning.

The Maids of Honour and dressers have had a dispute with the Ladies of the Bedchamber about their attending the corpse within the rail; but the Committee have determined it against them, and thought they could so little pretend to be on the same foot with the

obliging himself, and recommending his successors, to grant to the Earl of Bath, or his representative, the Dukedom of Albemarle, in the event of the failure of male issue to General Monk, on whom that title had been conferred. Christopher Monk, second and last Duke of Albemarle, executed a deed, by which he settled his estates on the Earl of Bath; but by a will subsequently made he otherwise disposed of his property. He shortly afterwards died without issue. The contest between the Earl of Bath and the claimants under the will was long protracted. It was at length decided by Lord Keeper Somers in favour of the Earl.

[1] Lord Montague had married the widow of the late Duke of Albemarle.

Ladies of the Bedchamber that they are not to wait in the same room.

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, Feb. $\frac{8, 1694.}{18, 1695.}$

The difference I told you in my last between his Catholic Majesty and his confessor, Father Matilla, then designed to be banished the Court, is since accommodated, and the confessor is as much in favour as ever, by the mediation of the Queen and Almirante de Castillo;[1] insomuch that he is now one of the fairest pretenders to be Inquisitor-General. This, it may be, would not seem worth taking notice of in another Court, but in so Catholic a one as this is very considerable, where he must always be a great man who has the management of a scrupulous King's conscience. The Palatine Envoy, her Majesty's Secretary, goes in three days to Parma,[2] having actually received ten thousand crowns for his voyage and equipage, though money be very scarce here.

The greatest news in our Court at present is what has passed lately with the Condé de Oropesa,[3] whom the King invited by a very kind letter to come and exercise his charge of President of the Council of Italy; and when, in obedience to that summons, he was come

[1] The Almirante de Castillo: the Duque di Medina del Rio Seco, one of the most powerful grandees in Spain. He possessed the confidence of the Queen, and was warmly attached to the Austrian interest.

[2] The ostensible object of this mission was to arrange a marriage between the Duchess Dowager of Parma, sister of the Queen of Spain and of the Elector Palatine, with the Duke of Parma, the brother of her deceased husband: the real object, however, was to remove from the court the Queen's secretary, who was supposed to exercise too much influence over her Majesty.

[3] The Condé de Oropesa had been disgraced and banished in 1691.

within five leagues of Madrid, at a place called Naval Carnero, met there a counter-order to return back to his house. This latter is said to have been procured by the Queen, who would not see him again First Minister, which probably he would be if once he were permitted to speak with the King. I should be glad if he or any body else were fixed in that post, for the present confusion is such that no foreign Minister knows who to apply himself to. They are now beginning to raise men here for Catalonia: five thousand Spaniards are designed for that service, and for the rest they depend on Germans and Italians, to be transported from Italy, and convoyed by a squadron of our fleet. The Marques de Balbaces, of the Council of State, and above seventy years old, lately received the first clerical orders, and goes in priest's habit; his next step, it is supposed, will be a cardinal.

Mr. Stepney to Lord Lexington.

Wesel, Feb. $\frac{23, 1694.}{13, 1695.}$

That you may not think I am quite lost, it is just I should give you some account of myself, since I have lost my mother, natural and politic.[1] I had crossed the water sooner, but the King would not that I should venture in the packet-boat; and so I was obliged to stay, but without any great violence, you may swear, till the Centurion could be ready to carry me to Ostend, it being impossible to find any entrance for a great ship in any port on the coast of Holland because of the thick ice. I lay windbound at the Nore fifteen days, but afterwards had a sort of amends made me by

[1] Mr. Stepney's mother, who had recently died, and Queen Mary.

a very easy passage in ten hours' time from Margate to Ostend. I landed there the 1st (11th) inst., and have been ever since running through the garrisons of Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp (where I laid in champagne), Bois le Duc, Gravelines, and so to Cleves, without meeting French parties or Spanish troopers. I have made shift to cross the Rhine over the ice: though now it is over, it almost makes my heart tremble to think on't, and I have been waiting here two days till my coach could come up from Loo, which it did last night, and I am this minute jogging on to Cassel.

I suppose you have seen Count Harrach,[1] who, I understand, has been at Vienna for new instructions, and know what resolutions may have been taken at the Imperial Court. Towards the end of January it is their grave way to hold conferences with all the Ministers of the Allies, and you would think, by their formal way of proceeding, the world was to be directed by their projects. I have been at this sport with them, and can assure you it is only so much time lost, and the Ministers mean nothing but showing their eloquence.

I should send your Lordship some news from England, but I know not where to begin. If you have anything particular to ask me, state your queries, and I will resolve them as well as I can when I get to Dresden. The great Court is at Barclay House,[2] for the ladies must have some place to show themselves. I had an audience of congé, both of Princess and Prince, and never saw a greater concourse. The King will certainly make the campaign, and, I believe, will declare as much to the Parliament when he sees them

[1] Count Harrach the younger, Austrian minister at Dresden.

[2] Barclay or Berkeley House, the residence of the Princess Anne.

next, to have, in a manner, their consent, lest his crossing the water in this nice conjuncture be called abdication. This is the talk of the Jacobites, who say likewise he will take Prince George over with him to be sure of him. Poor Duke Shrewsbury will be quite blind, and Sir J. Trenchard stone dead, very shortly. We have a weak Ministry at present, and, for aught I see, nobody brigues the employment. Mr. Blathwayt might have it, but seems to decline it, because, without envy, he is warmer as he is. The vogue of the town speaks of Lord Montague [1] and Comptroller Wharton. [2] I wish your Lordship were at home to end the dispute and be our provincial, instead of our correspondent. I humbly offer my services to my Lady and your cousin. I have several elegies from good hands on the Queen's death, which I will forward to Vienna for their entertainment when I get to Dresden. I have had no time to settle to it, and could only hammer out one distich upon the Queen's dying resolutely, and the King's grieving immoderately, which is as follows :—

[1] Ralph, Lord Montague, was twice named ambassador to Paris by Charles II., and was in high favour with that monarch. In 1678, however, he quarrelled with Lord Danby, at whose instance the King sent to secure his papers. But Montague had already taken the precaution to place in security the letters of which the King and Lord Danby were most anxious to obtain possession. He produced in the House of Commons the instructions on which he had acted, and thus turned the tables upon Lord Danby, who was impeached of high treason. Lord Montague was created Duke of Montague in 1707.

[2] Mr. Wharton was Comptroller of the Household and a member of the Privy Council; but neither his services or talents, or the pressing solicitations of the other Whig leaders, could induce William III. to promote him to the office of Secretary of State. It is probable that the King personally disliked him; and it is certain that he feared his violent and uncompromising temper.

Mr. Wharton succeeded his father as Lord Wharton in 1696, and was subsequently created Earl and Marquis of Wharton.

So greatly Mary died and William grieves,
You 'd think the hero gone, the woman lives.

Which a friend has thus burlesqued:—

Sure Death 's a Jacobite that thus bewitches,
His soul wears petticoats, and hers the breeches;
Alas! alas! we 've err'd in our commanders,
Will should have knotted and Moll gone for Flanders.

Mr. Cressett to Lord Lexington.

Hanover, Feb. 14, 169$\frac{4}{5}$.

The re-establishing of L.[1] any way is impracticable, though Toby[2] is afraid lest Livy[3] should have some thoughts of it.

The Danes have really a fancy that our master has an eye upon their Princess; the Elector of Brandenburgh has the same imagination for his daughter. God send him life and health, and all will go well every where.

The Electress[4] has had two fits of an ague; notwithstanding Moses'[5] sister rejoices.

Mr. Prior to Lord and Lady Lexington.

Hague, March 1, 1695.

I am as yet so afflicted for the death of our dear mistress, that I cannot express it in bad verse, as all the world here does; all that I have done was to-day on Scheveling Sands, with the point of my sword:—

[1] "L." The Princess Sophia Dorothea.

[2] "Toby." The Elector of Hanover.

[3] "Livy." The Duke Antoine of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, whose eldest son had been betrothed to the Princess, but was killed in 1676, at the siege of Philipsburg.

[4] The Electress of Hanover.

[5] "Moses." The Prince Electoral of Hanover. His sister was the Electress of Brandenburgh.

Number the sands extended here;
So many Mary's virtues were:
Number the drops that yonder roll;
So many griefs press William's soul.

The fair ones are all well here; Madame Kaunitz wins money, and Madlle. Starenburg hearts. Our Lady Eleanor Colvil, my Lord Clancarty's sister, who ran over seas after Count Dona,[1] and (which is worst) married him, has stayed for him here these three months very lovingly, while he has been with a comedian at Brussels; they met two days since, and all is joy and ecstasy. Count Frize[2] is at the Hague, keeps a very good house, and I dine with him very often, where we drink my Lord Lexington's health regularly after the King's. I have had the women—namely, as we say in memoirs, Countess Frize, Countess Dona, an ugly sister that they call Esperanza, and an &ca. of the fair sex—to dine with me; which day cost me fourteen pounds, of which I have one from my great master per diem, and consequently Abraham[3] and I eat cold meat thirteen days, and concluded, like Solomon, that all was vanity. Mrs. Davers ought not to know this, for the man that treats married women thus is not likely to make a faithful lover, and he who spends fourteen times more than he has will not be the properest husband that a woman of her prudence would choose.

[1] Count Dona, the Swedish envoy at the Hague.

[2] Count Frize was a native of Saxony. Having offended Schoning, who was all-powerful at the court of Saxony, he was dismissed from the service of the Elector. William III., to whom Schoning was for many reasons especially odious, took Count Frize under his protection, and employed him in various capacities, both civil and military, and at length succeeded in obtaining for him the pardon of the Elector.

[3] Abraham, a name given (I know not why) by Prior to secretaries: he here refers to his own.

I must take my Lady's excuse that the paper is full, but a true secretary should take another leaf[1] and spoil it, though it be but to make my leg, and tell my dear Lord and good Lady with how much truth I am, &c. &c.

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, March 8, 1695.

Your Lordship is to pardon my Abraham; in recompence I almost adore yours.[2] This is a pretty confidence to make to your Lordship, but there are distance, quality, virtue on one side, and common sense, common honesty, and common gratitude on the other, that refine my passion for Mary Lexington[3] to the same degree as that I had for Mary Stuart, who has left a platonic void in my heart that nobody can better fill than the lady in a baize gown at Vienna, except Cousin Davers please to cure my speculations by taking my heart a little more materially with all its appurtenances: your Lordship will speak to her concerning it, for I have now a coach and 200*l.* ready money, which are not things to be despised by any young woman that does not stand in her own light; another thing is, she shall be my Abraham, and have all the perquisites of the place into the bargain. I will trouble your Lordship with no other English news than what relates to myself; some say we shall have new Secretaries, and most name my Lord Lexington and

[1] A new sheet of paper is here begun.

[2] In this instance the name Abraham is applied to Lady Lexington, who occasionally aided her husband in the capacity of a secretary.

[3] Lady Lexington's name was Margaret, not Mary; but she signed her letters M. Lexington, and this no doubt caused the mistake.

Sir William Trumbull: *Dieu le veuille*, as the French divines say, for I am impudent enough to know who will be the better for it. Every body agrees that we shall have a Plenipotentiary here, named before the King's coming, in which case I presume they will do something for my worship: *Dieu le veuille* again. They talk of sending me to Ratisbonne, and I need not say how glad I should be of it while my Lord is at Vienna. I protest I blush whilst I say, that if my Lord Lexington would be pleased to hint that I should not be wholly useless there, 'twould, I believe, clinch the nail; but for God's dear sake, my Lord, pardon me if the request be unreasonable, for all that I ask or desire in this or anything is to approve myself always, with the greatest respect and duty, &c. &c.

Mr. Stepney[1] *to Lord Lexington.*

Dresden, March $\frac{4}{14}$, 1695.

After the fair of Leipsic (six weeks hence) the Elector will go to some waters, I hope Carlsbad, where I should be glad to meet your Lordship, for I intend to follow his Electoral Highness, though, I thank good Providence, I do not stand so much in need of rinsing. If the project of Hungary should succeed, I must begin to look about me which way to turn myself next, as soon as I shall have got these lazy Saxons out of their

[1] Mr. Stepney had recently arrived at Dresden: he had failed to accomplish the chief object of his mission, which was to persuade the Elector to send some of his troops to reinforce the army under the command of Prince Louis of Baden, on the Rhine; and a negociation was at this time in progress between the Courts of Vienna and Dresden, by which it was proposed that the Elector should take the command of the Imperial forces in Hungary.

nests. The credentials I have for the Landgrave of Hesse may justify my sauntering some time at Cassel; but when my small job is done there likewise, I think of going to Flanders, and making my campaign there with Mr. Blathwayt on the score of my 4*l.* per day (as has been projected), or I intend to ask leave to go to Vienna, and wait there till the Elector returns from Hungary; for I am not fool enough to follow him thither to be knocked of the head or die of the rot, as I am sure he will, who cannot restrain himself to any regular diet, for by his way of living I believe I shall change Electors as often as Lord Paget has Grand Signors.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, March 5, 1694.[1]

This is a melancholy day[2] with us, as renewing the remembrance of our loss.

They have had but a very indifferent day for the procession from Whitehall to the Abbey, a great snow falling in the midst of it. One who comes now from the Abbey tells me that the ladies had but draggled trains by the time they got thither.

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, March $\frac{7, 1694.}{17, 1695.}$

Malaga, the 8th of March, N. S.—They advise from Ceuta the Moors do still persist with their mines and approaches towards the Plaça de Armas, which it is feared they will at last blow up or take; they are

[1] Old style. [2] The day of the Queen's funeral.

so intrenched and covered that with their great guns they can do but little harm. Yet being advised by a watchman (who with his prospective glass discovers their whole camp) that there was a fresh recruit of horse coming in to join them, they made several shot at them by elevation, and killed some of their chief leaders. What they want are mortars; they have but one, which they fill with stones instead of shells, but they are casting of two more in Malaga.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, March 8, 1694.[1]

There is something working in the House of Commons that don't yet appear; not but that it is sufficiently talked of without doors, particularly against the Speaker,[2] for having taken money to promote private bills. The Chamberlain of London has given the committee an account, that, by order of the Court of Aldermen, he paid the Speaker 1000 gūineas, as their acknowledgment for his kindness to them in expediting the Orphans Bill, and the Clerk of the House, Mr. Joddrel, had 100*l.* 'Tis said that more has been given for that bill, by the parties concerned, to whom above 5000*l.* has been brought to account for the charges of that act, but to whom the same has been disbursed does not yet appear.

I hear Mr. Guy[3] had a petition ready to be deli-

[1] Old style.

[2] Sir John Trevor.

[3] Henry Guy was Secretary to the Treasury, and had held that office for many years. It was proved that he had received a bribe of 200 guineas for procuring the payment of arrears to a regiment; and he was committed to the Tower. He was also dismissed from his office, in compliance with an address from the House of Commons.

vered yesterday, but this flame breaking out it was not presented.

Sir Paul Rycaut[1] *to Lord Lexington.*

Hamburgh, March 9, $169\frac{4}{5}$.

I have this forenoon received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 9th inst. N. S., together with the copy of a letter from my Lord Paget at Adrianople, whereby he advises us of the death of Sultan Achmet, which hath much disappointed our hopes of a peace, and hath fallen out in an unhappy hour: howsoever, we know not as yet the temper of his successor, who is called Sultan Mustapha. He was born about the time that I first came into Turkey, and may now be about the age of 33. He was shown to the world in the year 1675, and was then a fine and a handsome youth, but that was not an age to discover his intellects: but we have not found that any of the descendants of Sultan Ibrahim have had any brains; so that we may believe that this Mustapha will not degenerate from the rest of his predecessors; yet I cannot but reflect on the fate of our peace, which when it hath seemed to be near, it hath always been crossed by some misfortune or other. It is a curse upon the Turks, who may shortly meet both at sea and land a more adverse fortune than ever, of which I believe this young Prince will resolve to make the trial.

[1] British minister at Hamburgh, and author of a 'History of Turkey,' in which country he had resided for some time as secretary to Lord Winchelsea, the British Ambassador to the Porte.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, March 15, 1694.[1]

The Commons have spent these three days in making the old Speaker[2] sick of his place and choosing a new one. It is said Sir Thomas Littleton missed of the chair only by an irregularity, as it was thought, of his being named by the Comptroller at the same time he delivered his message.[3] I believe some might disapprove the proposing of him in that manner, but I don't think it influenced so many as Sir Thomas lost it by. The Herefordshire and Worcestershire men joined, in this case, with a party they seldom otherwise voted with, and some preferred Mr. Foley purely upon opinion that he had the longer experience of the two.[4]

It don't look as if the House had yet done with the old Speaker. There is a talk as if they would proceed against him by bill, to disable him from holding any employment, which would tend to divest him of the Mastership of the Rolls, for, otherwise, he holds that

[1] Old style.

[2] The charge of corruption against the Speaker was fully proved; and he did not even venture to appear in the House during these discussions.

He wrote, however, a letter to the Clerk, excusing his absence on the plea of a "violent colic." He was expelled the House on the 16th March.

Mr. Foley, who was elected Speaker, was chairman of the Committee appointed to inquire into the alleged acts of corruption.

[3] A similar course had been pursued in 1679, when Charles II. asserted the claim of the Crown to nominate the Speaker, and refused to sanction the election of Sir Edward Seymour, who was chosen by the House.

It is not probable that William III. really intended to revive this claim; nor is it likely that Mr. Wharton, the Comptroller, would have sanctioned such an attempt to extend the prerogative; but the circumstance was suspicious, and naturally alarmed the House of Commons.

[4] Tindal, however, asserts that the majority of the House were disposed to elect Sir Thomas Littleton, and that the circumstance referred to by Mr. Vernon caused his defeat.

quamdiu se bene gesserit.[1] I don't know whether they will run to that extremity, but if anything else should be made out upon him, it would be unavoidable.

Mr. Blathwayt to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, March 19, S. V. $169\frac{4}{5}$.

I have only to acknowledge the favour of your Lordship's letters of the 2nd, 9th, and 12th inst., and to observe to your Lordship that the House of Austria has great reason to make a peace impracticable, if they could have their will to lay all the burthen of the war with France upon his Majesty and the States, and to avail themselves of it to advance their conquests at our expense in Hungary,[2] which, nevertheless, I find his Majesty will by no means agree to, declaring that if half the Saxons be employed in Hungary and the other half kept at home, as is pretended and endeavoured, and the Brandenburghers kept at the same time in Hungary, so that the use of the Saxons will be entirely lost to the Empire and the Allies, his Majesty and the States will not, in that case, hold themselves

[1] A curious reason to assign for the retention in a high judicial office of a man who had been convicted of a gross act of corruption.

But there can be no doubt that Sir John Trevor had been extensively employed by the ministers of the King, if not by the King himself, in corrupting the members of the House over which he so unworthily presided.

He might have made disclosures which would have been equally disagreeable to the Government and to the Opposition, and he remained therefore undisturbed in the possession of the Mastership of the Rolls.

[2] The war with Turkey was an Austrian war, in which neither the Empire nor the Allies were concerned; but the Emperor used every means in his power to draw away from the Rhine and from Piedmont both the Imperial troops and those of the other German princes who had joined the league, although these forces were principally paid by the subsidies obtained from England and the States.

obliged to pay the former subsidies,[1] which I mention only as a guidance to your Lordship in that matter, wherein you will doubtless receive full instructions from the office.

Lord Portland to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Kensington, $\frac{\text{March } 22}{\text{April } 1}$, no date but 1695.

If the conduct of the Spanish Ministers answered to the words of the Marques de Courgomonero, one could understand the reason why they wish to hold to the Treaty of the Pyrenees;[2] but when one considers that the King and the States bear the expense of the war for Spain, which cannot raise a brigade to defend Catalonia, or a squadron on the sea to protect her coasts, I declare to you that it does surprise me. It is impossible that so great a kingdom could have become so entirely powerless if there had not been great supineness in the Government.

We have received intelligence of the death of the Grand Signor. I truly fear that we gain nothing by the change; but, being masters of the Mediterranean,[3]

[1] It appears extraordinary that under these circumstances a claim for a continuance of these subsidies should be made; such, however, was the case.

[2] The treaties of Munster and of Nimeguen had formed the basis of the truce of Ratisbonne in 1684; and William III. proposed that they should be adhered to as the foundation of the peace for which all parties were gradually preparing. Spain, however, persisted in demanding a return to the terms of the treaty of the Pyrenees, which were more favourable to that nation, and the Emperor favoured this demand. He never lost sight of his claims on the Spanish succession, and was afraid of offending Spain. Nor, indeed, was he unwilling to protract the war, so long as this could be done at the expense of England and of the States, in the hope that Charles II. of Spain, whose health was sinking, might die before the conclusion of the peace with France.

[3] The French navy had not recovered from the defeat at La Hogue in 1692.

perhaps our suggestions, as mediators, may have sufficient weight to be listened to. You will have heard enough of what has passed, and is passing,[1] in the Lower House, and that they are likely to push still further their inquiry respecting the affair of the Orphans and the East India Company, which may touch their own members.

It reminds me of a party, who, having got drunk together,[2] quarrel, and separate with bloody noses.

Mr. Stepney to Lord Lexington.

Saturday morning, April 2, 1695.

You will find by the 'London Gazette' of the 11th inst., that my poem is got into print in the advertisements, among dogs and horses. Father Vernon flatters me that the vogue of the town is on my side, and gives me two lines to confirm it:—

> Congreve is famous for a dismal scene,
> But only St—— represents the Queen.[3]

Though I am not so vain to be pleased with it myself, or inclined to believe the compliment Vernon makes me. If it be true what he says, I desire, as Lord Portland answers Schoning,[4] that it may appear by the

[1] The charges of corruption.

[2] Lord Portland, who, to his honour be it said, was himself incorruptible, was well aware of the general venality of the House of Commons.

[3] Stepney, Prior, and Congreve, each composed an elegy on the death of Queen Mary. Prior's was not at this time published. There can be no doubt that Mr. Vernon and the town were right in assigning the palm to Mr. Stepney. Indeed his verses on this occasion possess considerable merit.

[4] General Schoning, the favourite of the Elector of Saxony, was suspected to have intrigued with the French: he was arrested by the Emperor in 1692; and although released on the remonstrances of the Elector, was still regarded with strong suspicion by the Allies.

fruits; and, with all the beggarly impudence of a poet, I put them in mind of a gold chain and medal, which that very Lord promised me, four years ago, for my poem on the King's voyage,[1] which I have not seen to this day.

Here is a lampoon my sister sends me on the Countess of Dorchester, which is true Dorset.[2]

Mr. Cressett to Lord Lexington.

Zell, March 28, 1695.

We are not frighted with Koningsmark's ghost,[3] though the story says it appeared amongst the devils upon the stage at the Opera. As to doing matters generally upon our own charge,[4] we understand no

[1] Mr. Stepney embraced Whig principles on the Revolution; but he had addressed a poem of congratulation to James II. on his accession to the crown, in which, with more than poetical licence, he compared Charles II. to Atlas, and his successor to Hercules.

[2] It would appear that Lord Dorset bore especial ill-will to Lady Dorchester, the daughter of Sir Charles Sedley, and the mistress of James II. In 1680 he attacked her in verses too coarse for quotation, but of which the following are concluding lines:—

So have I seen in larder dark,
Of veal a lucid loin,
Replete with many a brilliant spark,
As wise philosophers remark,
At once both stink and shine.

The following is probably the lampoon referred to by Mr. Stepney. It appears among Lord Dorset's works, but with no date attached to it:—

Proud with the spoils of royal cullcy,
With false pretence to wit and parts,
She swaggers like a battered bully,
To try the temper of men's hearts.
Though she appears as glittering fine
As gems, and jets, and paint can make her,
She ne'er can win a breast like mine,
The Devil and Sir David * take her.

[3] Wraxall states in his Memoirs that it was reported and believed at Hanover that the Count's ghost haunted Madame de Platen, through whose jealousy it was supposed that his intercourse with the Princess was first made known to her father-in-law.

[4] Although the war with France was an Imperial, not an Austrian war, the German Princes steadily refused to furnish troops, except on the payment of large subsidies.

* The Countess of Dorchester married David Colyear, Earl of Portmore.

such thing; and the German Princes say the House of Austria is already as dangerous to them and their liberty as the House of Bourbon. Your Lordship will think this odd language, but 'tis what I hear every day.

The Electress[1] is dangerously ill.

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, April $\frac{5}{15}$, 1695.

The States will not give the Elector of Saxe a passport for three hundred bottles of Burgundy to come through the Provinces, though I gave in a memorial for the favour. They very honourably returned my memorial by their agent, that they might not be obliged to give a resolution in writing upon the subject. I send their refusal to Mr. Stepney, and possibly it may make the Elector determine his Hungary expedition, that he may drink Tokay sans passeport. God keep you all, and send us warmer weather, for I have but eleven turfs left.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, April 9, 1695.

Dr. Busby[2] is at last dead, but has not left so great an estate as was expected. His land is less than 600*l.* per annum, and he had about 3000*l.* in money. What he had is chiefly given to the augmentation of several poor vicarages, but he has tacked so many lectures to his gifts that they will be dearly earned; he could not forbear being a pedant in his will, imposing exercises to the world's end.

[1] Of Hanover.

[2] Dr. Busby was born in 1606. He was appointed to the head mastership of Westminster School in 1640, and held it until his death in 1695.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, April 12, 1695.

The chief news here is the disturbance the rabble have made these two or three nights past. The two provosts-marshal to the regiments of Foot-Guards have their houses—or, rather, had them—in Holborn, not far one from the other, where they not only kept the soldiers committed to them, when they had offended, but of late they have driven a trade to secure new listed men that were designed for recruits to the regiments in Flanders; and they have added another trade to it, which has been undertaking to furnish officers with recruits, as they could agree on the price, which naturally brings such sort of factors under a suspicion of kidnapping, and I believe there might have been some indirect practices among them. Tooley, an Irishman, provost-marshal to my Lord Cutts's regiment of Guards, lay under the worst reputation of the two. He was before the House of Commons last year, upon some complaint against him for pressing, and the civil magistrate has since been obliged to require him to discharge some persons he had got into his clutches, which he did not always readily comply with, and that at last has drawn upon him the fury of the people; for the Under-Sheriff being affronted at his house on Tuesday last, in the execution of a warrant, he called to his assistance the posse of Lincoln's Inn Fields from their wrestling ring, who went farther than their leader would have them, and did not stop where they began, but, having gutted that house, they went to the other marshal's, where they found a greater resistance, he being longer forewarned; so they left the enterprise that

night, but finished it the next. There were soldiers drawn out, but had orders to avoid bloodshed as much as might be; and the rabble, having wreaked their revenge on that house likewise, retired. There was little appearance of them last night, but they say they attacked a small prison in Finsbury, where some listed men had been kept, but they were removed beforehand. I hope they have done now, though 't was said they threatened to set open all prisons; and if they did so, those that are in them would show them the way to open all other houses.

My Lord Halifax[1] was buried last night, in a vault where General Monk lies.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, April 16, 1695.

The Comte de Soissons,[2] who arrived not long since, in order to his going to Spain, had a scurvy affront put upon him the last week, being arrested in the street by Arrian the Jew, for a debt of 500*l.* which he contracted about fourteen years ago, when he was last in England, and they would not part with him till he had given bail to answer the action.

It is said the Lord Ossulston[3] is married to a young

[1] George Saville, Marquis of Halifax. Sir James Mackintosh, in sketching the character of this able but unprincipled statesman, says that "his uncle Shaftesbury was a more daring, Sunderland a more corrupt, but neither was a more versatile intriguer." He was succeeded by his son, Lord Elam, on whose death in 1700 the title of Halifax became extinct. It was, however, revived in the person of Charles Montague, who was created, in 1700, Lord, and subsequently Earl of Halifax, and who like his predecessor was distinguished by literary talents, as well as by political ability.

[2] Louis Thomas, the eldest brother of Prince Eugene, had recently quitted the service of Louis XIV.

[3] Charles Bennett, Lord Ossulston, subsequently married the only

exchange woman. His relations have carried him into the country to see how he is to be brought off.

One Crosby, an Irishman, was tried this day and acquitted. The main of the evidences against him was from the papers seized with him, in which was treasonable matter enough, as containing schemes for an invasion, and naming particular persons that would be assisting in it, some of which are members of the House of Commons. His making use of these names ought not to make them suspected, since his writing those papers did not make him guilty. He was not ill instructed in his defence, which was that proofs drawn from a similitude of hands had been exploded in this reign, and he quoted for it the Act of Parliament reversing Colonel Sidney's[1] attainder. Aaron Smith[2] was produced as a witness to prove something about the papers, but he excepted against him, as having formerly stood in the pillory, which was for assisting Stephen Colledge[3] at his trial. The court allowed this, as a point of law, fit to be argued, which was done by Sir Francis Warrington without much reserve for Mr. Smith, and he was only admitted as a good witness, as being comprehended within an act of grace that passed since; but Sir Francis told the jury he hoped they would consider how they gave credit to one from whom a judgment

daughter of Ford, Lord Grey de Werk, created in 1695 Earl of Tankerville. Lord Ossulston was himself created Earl of Tankerville in 1714.

[1] Witnesses were called on the trial of Colonel Sidney to prove that an essay of a republican tendency, found in his study, was in his handwriting. The attainder of Colonel Sidney was reversed by Act of Parliament, 1689.

[2] Aaron Smith was himself implicated in the Rye House Conspiracy. At the date of this letter he was Solicitor to the Treasury.

[3] Stephen Colledge, "the Protestant Joiner," was convicted of high treason on very defective evidence, and executed at Oxford, 1681.

of the law had taken it, and he was only accidentally restored. The Lord Glenorchy, son to the Earl Breadalbane, is going to marry Mrs. Villiers, the Maid of Honour.

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, April $\frac{18}{28}$, 1695.

I was not happy in receiving any from your Lordship by last post, and have little to entertain you from hence, besides the continuance of the bravery of our Catalans.[1] On the 2nd (12th) instant, assisted by some Spanish dragoons, they met a convoy of provisions designed for Castel-follet of 2000 foot and 500 horse, whom they entirely routed, killing 400, and took 500 prisoners, with 100 mules laden with meat, within musket-shot of the place. Among the prisoners are 24 officers. We have now in all at least 1500.

The Marques de Cascais, Ambassador from the King of Portugal to the French King, arrived here two days ago, with a very numerous train, in his way to France, having, as is said, instructions to mediate a peace, although I can hardly believe it meant in earnest, since his master is so great a gainer by his neutrality in the present war.

[1] The natural spirit of the Catalan peasantry had at length been awakened by the exactions of the invading army, and they displayed the most daring gallantry in several successive encounters with the French troops. Marshal de Noailles was himself ill, and shortly afterwards surrendered the command of the French army to the Duke de Vendôme.

Duke of Shrewsbury to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, April 19, 1695.

Upon the relation of the conference[1] held the 5th, his Majesty observed three things:—

1st. That the Count d'Avaux's answer[2] was rightly excepted against, as having remitted the acknowledgment of his Majesty, which is made a preliminary, to be considered towards the conclusion of the treaty, and then to be adjusted when all the other conditions of peace shall be, as it were, agreed on; which his Majesty cannot by any means admit, or enter into a treaty where that point is not so settled as to be no more called in question; and therefore he cannot but expect the Allies will receive no more papers relating to a negotiation in which he is styled Prince of Orange; and he hopes whoever is employed in the office of mediator will suffer no such papers to be put into their hands.[3]

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, April $\frac{29}{19}$, 1695.

We expect the Flanders post to-day, so I can only tell your Lordship what we had by those of yesterday

[1] At Vienna, between the ministers of the Emperor, and those of Great Britain, Holland, and Spain.

[2] The mediation of the King of Sweden had not been as yet formally accepted, either by the Allies or the King of France; but the preliminary demands of the Allies had been notified by the Swedish chancellor, Count Oxienstern, to the Count d'Avaux, the French minister at Stockholm, whose answer to these demands was similar to that given to M. de Dyckvelt by Messrs. De Callières and De Harlai at Maestricht. By artfully combining with terms which were by no means unfavourable to the Allies generally a refusal to acknowledge the King of Great Britain, Louis sought to throw upon William the odium of obstructing a general peace, on grounds personal to himself, or at least peculiar to England, and in which therefore the rest of the Allies, with the exception of Holland, felt but little interest.

[3] The remainder of the letter is unimportant.

morning, that the French had finished their line from Courtray to Bossut, and fortified it with eighty-four pieces of cannon. We lie encamping between Deynse and Ghent, without endeavouring or (as a man may say to his Lord Lexington) without intending anything.

I presume Stepney has sent my Lady his poem, or I would. I roll in the press and will send her Ladyship mine, so there will be four dollars postage for a d——d poem.[1] Your Lordship sees my mind runs so on postage that if I was to write to my mistress, I should think how much the letter would cost her. I have reason for the thought, when I tell your Lordship that I paid 136 gilders one morning last week for the letters I received, and yet they scruple my extraordinaries, and say 't is a jolly sum, and wonder that a secretary should be obliged to pay the same postage as an envoy. Since these matters can't be redressed, 't is some comfort to complain, and I am more easy having told it to your Lordship.

Lord Portland to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Kensington, $\frac{\text{April } 23,}{\text{May } 3,}$ no date but 1695.

You will learn from other quarters that we are in expectation of great disclosures in our Parliament.[2] I

[1] This poem appears in all the collections of Prior's works.

[2] The success which had attended the inquiry into the corrupt practices connected with the passing of the Orphans' Bill induced the House of Commons to institute a similar investigation into the means by which the East India Company had obtained their new charter in 1694. It was ascertained that the Company had expended in special services since 1688 the enormous sum of 107,000*l.*, and that 80,000*l.* had been spent by them in the year preceding the grant of the charter. A joint committee of both Houses of Parliament was appointed to carry on this inquiry. Sir Basil Firebrace stated in his evidence before

believe that they may very well reach some who will find it difficult to clear themselves; all that I fear is that it may delay the departure of the King for some days, otherwise I should be very glad that they should investigate this affair to the very bottom, particularly as there are malicious people who, judging me by themselves, think that it is impossible that I could be proof against 50,000*l.*, and have taken the liberty to make use of my name to hide their own knavery. It is annoying to be exposed to such an accusation here, where corruption is too general. There is a Flemish proverb which says that "It is hard to be beaten with the spit when one has not eaten the roast." I am much obliged to you for your intention of sending me some wine. I assure you that your health will not be forgotten when I receive it, but I do not know whether, when I have got it, I shall not be guilty of bribery: however, I will accept and drink it at all events.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, April 23, 1695.

His Grace has hardly opened his post yet, having been all day at Sir Thomas Cook's committee,[1] which

this committee that Mr. Tyssen, the deputy-governor of the Company, was commissioned to offer a bribe of 50,000*l.* to Lord Portland, and that this sum had been offered and refused. Mr. Tyssen, however, denied this; and added, that had he made such an offer, "he must never have seen his (Lord P.'s) face more."

It is of little consequence whether this bribe was offered to, and refused by, Lord Portland (as he seems to imply in this letter, which was written three days before the evidence referred to was given), or whether his reputation deterred these wholesale corrupters from offering it. It is quite clear that he was uncorrupted and incorruptible on this as well as on all other occasions.

It should be added that Lord Nottingham, the chief of the Tory party, was, in 1693, Secretary of State, and he also refused a bribe of 5000*l.*

[1] The joint committee of both Houses of Parliament.

I hear rise at 9 this evening. I don't hear he has given them much satisfaction.[1]

Sir Basil Firebrace, it seems, had 30,000*l.* to be distributed, but he leaves it to him to tell how he disposed of it. Tyssen, the Deputy Governor, had 10,000*l.*, and Acton, a linendraper, who was supposed to have an interest among Members of Parliament, had 10,000*l.* more, and this man, they say, is now under a distraction. Colonel Fitz-Patrick, who is dead, he says, had 1000*l.*, and Germain 350*l.* to take him off from soliciting against the old Company, and the Attorney-General[2] a fee of 500 guineas for their new charter, and such like disbursements; but upon the whole I hear it is not like to be satisfactory, so that the first bill may yet pass, with a rider to make those accountable likewise who are named to have received any great sums.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

May 4, 1695.

I forgot to acquaint you that just about a month ago Sir Paul Rycaut sent me word that Hayfield[3] was

[1] Sir Thomas Cook, the chairman of the East India Company, at first refused to give the information required by the House of Commons. He was committed to the Tower, and a bill was brought in to force him to give evidence. The House of Lords, however, refused to pass this bill, which was of a highly penal character; and substituted for it one to indemnify Sir T. Cook, in the event of his making a full disclosure.

[2] Sir Edward Ward succeeded Sir John Somers as Attorney-General in 1693. He was appointed Chief Baron of the Exchequer, 8th June, 1695.

[3] Monsieur Bedal, Hayfield, or Hasfelt, was the French minister at Hanover in 1692. He was implicated in Grandval's conspiracy to assassinate William. Dumont in his confession stated that Hasfelt lent him fifty crowns when the design was made known to him.—Somers' Tracts.

It is difficult to believe that so atrocious a plot could have received the sanction of the French Ministers, Louvois and Barbesieux; but it is still more difficult to refuse credence to the evidence by which their connexion with it is established.

about obtaining a passport from the Emperor to go into France, upon which I spoke to Count Chinski, who told me he knew of no such thing, and he would take care to stop it, upon which I thought myself secure. Two or three posts afterwards, Sir Paul's secretary writ again, which made me speak to Windisgratz,[1] who told me the passport had been granted above a month before, and made a thousand excuses that he did not know he was such a man as I now informed him, especially of his being concerned in assassinating the King, otherwise it should never have been granted. I asked him if he thought the Emperor would not be displeased if we could snap him by the way. He answered, smiling, that public faith ought to be kept, but that he would send me a copy of the road he was obliged to keep, which seemed to me a kind of a tacit consent, as I sent Sir Paul word. About ten days afterwards Windisgratz came to me again, and told me that he had spoken of it to the Emperor, who was unwilling that the public faith should be broken now he had granted his passport, and desired that his Majesty would order nothing to be done in it, but that the Emperor would revoke his passport if he did not make use of it within the time limited; all which I immediately sent Sir Paul word of, so that it lies so, without his Majesty pleases to command something to be further done in it.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, April 26, 1695.

These managers for the East India Company, in all likelihood, will appear to be strange creatures, that

[1] Count Windisgratz, Vice-Chancellor of the Empire.

corruption and bribery will be the best of their qualities; for perjury they make nothing of it, and they have spirited to others to imitate their example. The Committee is still sitting, and the farther they go, more work seems to offer itself, so that the season won't suffer them to go to the bottom of this mystery. It is probable they may abridge it by deliberating immediately upon what has been made out, and devolve the rest of the work to the Commissioners of Accounts, to prepare it for another Session, that so the King may not be longer detained, and therefore it is expected some report will be made to-morrow. The late Speaker is said to have 500*l.* of this money too, and that it was lately sent back. Sir Edward Seymour, from the intimacy he had with Firebrace, is strongly suspected to have had a good share of the money, but I don't know that it is made out. I hear my Lord President[1] was at the House to-day, and should say nothing could vindicate him more than for Mr. Bates to tell the truth.

[1] The Duke of Leeds, Lord President of the Council, was charged with having received a bribe of 5000*l.*

It was admitted that this sum had been offered to him by Mr. Bates; and it was proved that it had been placed in the hands of Mr. Robart, a Swiss, one of the Duke's servants, by whom it was kept until the danger of retaining it longer was apparent.

Mr. Bates, however, affirmed that the Duke had refused to accept the 5000*l.*, when offered to him, but had permitted his servant to take charge of the money on his (Mr. Bates') behalf. The Duke of Leeds also, in his place in the House of Lords, solemnly asserted that he had refused to accept the proffered bribe, or any part of it; but was apparently unconscious of the scandal of the confession, when he added, that he had advised his friend Mr. Bates to retain the 5000*l.* for his own use, and had "wished him luck with it." Hansard's 'Parl. Hist.'

But I am afraid that this defence, incomplete as it was, was also untrue; and the sudden disappearance of Mr. Robart, whose evidence was equally necessary to clear or to convict the Duke, was regarded by the public as an acknowledgment of his guilt, although it deprived his accusers of the power of legally establishing it.

Mr. Stepney to Lord Lexington.

Dresden, $\frac{\text{April } 26}{\text{May } 6}$, 1695.

The Elector has dealt about many presents at the fair among such as follow him in this holy war. Mighty Count Reiss is one to whom the Elector gave 1500 or 2000 R. D. towards making his equipage. His manner of presenting Rose was handsome enough. He saw him playing over night with a medal of 10 ducats, asked him if he was willing to part with it, and sent him next morning 500 ducats in specie as the change of his piece.

I believe Rose will let him have more at the same rate.

Last night the Elector returned from the fair. He came on horseback, without any servant, and so much incognito that the guards never stood to their arms, and immediately went to the tennis court to refresh himself. On the 4th he goes to Carlsbad. He takes with him his ordinary mistress Clingle, his extraordinary one Koningsmark, and will find a third there ready to his hand—Madlle. Altheim.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, April 30, 1695.

I know not how much longer I shall have the honour of your Lordship's correspondence, for Mr. Secretary Trenchard dying on Saturday night, my Lord Duke succeeds of course to that office, and I suppose the King won't be long before he appoints a secretary to the Northern Province.[1] Sir William Trum-

[1] The respective provinces of the two joint Secretaries of State were determined by the date of their appointments. Sir

bull's[1] the most likely to be advanced to it, and some think that it has been long since resolved, though it will not yet be declared before the rising of Parliament, which will now last but very few days longer.

I hear His Majesty hopes the public business may be despatched by Saturday next; if so, I don't think the Houses will be kept sitting for my Lord President's trial,[2] though he presses the despatch of it; but should they now think of it, nobody can foresee the difficulties that would arise before the manner of it could be agreed on: besides, the Commons would expect time to be given them for the bringing in of Robart, who, they say, is fled, and not sent into the country.

The Parliament relations give an account of the complaint made by Colonel Beaumont against Sir William Forester. They had a further rencontre this noon, meeting accidentally and falling into a heat about the particular words said in the House, which one affirmed and the other denied: they went into St. James's Square to decide it, where Sir William was worsted, being disarmed.

Now, my Lord Montague has got a verdict against

Sir John Trenchard was the Senior Secretary of State; and on his death therefore the Duke of Shrewsbury removed to the Southern Province, and Mr. Vernon accompanied him.

[1] Sir William Trumbull had already acquired a high reputation for sagacity and temper. He was British Minister at Paris in 1685, when the Edict of Nantes was revoked, and distinguished himself by his humane exertions in favour of the Protestants.

From Paris he was sent Ambassador to Constantinople, where he continued several years. He was appointed Secretary of State on the 3rd of May, on which day Parliament was prorogued.

[2] On the 29th April the Duke of Leeds was impeached for the third time. Parliament was, however, prorogued on the 3rd of May, and dissolved in the following October; and no further steps were taken in the matter until the year 1701, when the House of Lords dismissed the articles of impeachment.

the Earl of Bath, and that upon the validity of the deed, which this jury has given no credit to. His Lordship thinks himself able to keep his hold. Sloen, his lawyer, moved the deed might be cancelled in court, as is usual with forged writings; but that was too quick a motion, there being still two verdicts for the deed and this one against it.[1]

Mr. Cartwright[2] *to Lord Lexington.*

May 4, 1695.

I wish I could persuade you to turn your plate into money; for if a revolution should happen, and Mr. Mob is much dreaded, you may repent. I am sure the interest of your money will more than pay for fashion again.

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, May $\frac{27}{17}$, 1695.

God knows how my body is to be disposed of; I believe Ratisbonne will yet be my share. All I can bring cold Mr. Blathwayt to, is *that we will look after you, Mr. Prior.* Sir William Trumbull has mentioned me very kindly to the King, and I will prevail with him to recommend my establishment to Mr. Blathwayt. If he mention me, I see no great difficulty in the affair;

[1] In 1693, the Court of Chancery decided in favour of the validity of the deed by which the late Duke of Albemarle had settled his estates on the Earl of Bath; and this judgment was affirmed by the House of Lords on appeal in the following year.

[2] Mr. Cartwright was a gentleman of good family in Nottinghamshire, who superintended the management of Lord Lexington's affairs during his absence from England.

I have thought this extract (otherwise unimportant) worthy of insertion, as showing the insecurity of property and the unsettled state of the kingdom at the time.

in the mean time, I saunter at Court like other mortals, and meet the King in the Forehant in my own coach to show him something for his money. Your Lordship must excuse my troubling you with my own affairs; if they prosper, it is to be attributed to your goodness to me, etcætera, for I swear I can't write sense upon that subject. And to show how much better my verse is than my prose, I add this poem,[1] which I have given to everybody but the King. I hope my Lady will put up her thread in t'other, or pin her hair in it. God preserve it from singeing pullets, or being laid under pies.

Mr. Cressett to Lord Lexington.

Brookhusen, near Bremen, May 28, 1695.

The rascally General has dealt so basely with the poor Flanders officer recommended by your Lordship to this Court, that 'tis a shame to see a good master served in that manner. He has more mind to cut the General's throat than to stay here, and, indeed, the language and usage he has given him is insupportable. He went to fetch his wife, but the Papists poisoned both him and her at Amsterdam. She died, but he, after a great sickness, has recovered, and is come here to be more barbarously used.[2] I had the honour of being named with my betters upon Acton's examination in the committee relating to the East India Company, but I was too inconsiderable to be taken much notice of.

[1] On the death of the Queen. It begins thus:

At Mary's tomb, sad sacred place,
The Virtues shall their vigils keep,
And every Muse and every Grace
In solemn state shall ever weep.

This poem is to be found in all the collections of Prior's Works.

[2] I have been unable to discover any additional information respecting the circumstance referred to in this letter.

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, $\frac{\text{May } 30}{\text{June } 9}$, 1695.

The Catalans have defeated a body of 10,000 French, commanded by M. St. Sylvester,[1] and took all the provisions they convoyed to Castel Follet, except thirty mules, which escaped thither in the hurry, the whole number being 200. This was the day our Admiral[2] arrived at Barcelona, and the next they routed another party of 2000. The particulars of the French loss we have not as yet, but on our side were about thirty killed and wounded. All these late successes in Catalonia are owing to different methods of the Marques de Gastanaga from their former Viceroys, who were always jealous of the natives, and would never trust them to defend themselves; whereas he permits the use of arms to all, encourages and trusts them equally with the Castilians, having, indeed, no other game to play, considering the deplorable condition he found the country in, and it has succeeded beyond expectation.[3]

Mr. Prior to Lady Lexington.

Hague, June 9, 1695.

Abraham's[4] commands have equal weight with me as her master's. *Her* or *his* must one say? A French critic would think this worth his inquiring. Bouheurs asks if one should say, Sa Majesté notre grand Roi est

[1] M. de St. Sylvester, the French Intendant of the Province: he had rendered himself especially odious to the inhabitants by his tyranny. The Duke de Noailles complained, in a letter to Louis XIV., of the carelessness of this officer in not having previously reconnoitred and gained possession of the passes through which his route lay.—*Vide* Mém. de Noailles.

[2] Admiral Russell.

[3] The latter part of this letter has already been published by Lord Mahon in 'The Court of Spain under Charles II.'

[4] Lady Lexington's.

maître ou *maîtresse* de cette ville ;[1] but these niceties are not worth your Ladyship's trouble, who have the Secretaryship and the direction of the knotting work on your hands, not to mention your care of the billets and the hogshead, which may long continue in your keeping if you wait for a victory from Hungary, considering the gentle methods of your Emperor making war; but I digress, as Mr. Sutton[2] will tell you when he has talked half an hour from his text. To jump, therefore, into the matter.

My Lord Villiers will be here in a fortnight,[3] upon which I know not what will become of me. I have an ague into the bargain, and owe 400*l.*; and yet, I thank God, I am as brisk as Mrs. Davers can be with good health, a plentiful fortune, and the ace of trumps in her hand. The reason of this security, however, may be, that my Lord having recommended me so very kindly, I think it morally impossible my affairs should miscarry, but of this I shall tell you, my honourable brother Secretary, in a few posts; and I hope, at least, either to leave your rank and fraternity, and climb up to the step of resident on your side the world, or go home to my college,[4] where, though I will never take orders till hunger or thirst necessitates my free will, yet I shall pray for your health and my dear Lord's as heartily as if I were your chaplain.

[1] Père Bouheurs was a French grammarian, who has been justly accused of paying too scrupulous an attention to the minutiæ of letters. It is said that when he was dying, he called out to his friends (a correct grammarian to the last), "Je vas, ou je vais mourir; l'un ou l'autre se dit." D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature.

[2] Mr. Sutton, afterwards Sir Robert Sutton, was on his way to Vienna, where he continued in the joint capacity of Chaplain and Secretary to his cousin, Lord Lexington, until the peace of Ryswick was signed. He was then himself appointed Resident Minister at the Imperial court.

[3] As Ambassador to the Hague.

[4] Prior was at this time, and continued to be until his death, in 1721, a Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge.

Lord Paget to Lord Lexington.

Adrianople, May 31, 1695.

The Court is not inclined to talk of peace at present, nor is it in a condition to carry on the war. The Grand Seignor is in the tents, but none of the Asiatic Pashas are yet come. I do not conceive the army can march yet this fifteen days, and even then it will not be very considerable nor numerous. If the Imperial army had been early in the field this year, something might have been done that would have broken all the measures of the Porte. Of all the great possessions the Turks have had in Hungary, Temeswar alone remains to them. If that were taken (in the state the empire is now), the Germans might have leisure to secure their conquests before these could be in a state to recover their losses.[1]

(Translation.) Paris, June 10, 1695.[2]

It is said that the Duke of Savoy is engaged in a negotiation with France, with the view of obtaining her consent to the demolition of Casal. Should he succeed,

[1] Temeswar, however, was not taken until the year 1716, when it was recovered by Prince Eugene, after it had been in the possession of the Turks for 164 years.

[2] This is the first of a series of letters written in French, dated Paris, and all in the same handwriting, but without either signature or address. It would appear that during the remainder of the war these letters were regularly sent twice a week to Lord Lexington.

They give a full, and judging from contemporaneous memoirs, a correct account of what was passing in France, and it is clear that the writer possessed more than common means of obtaining information, both personal and political. I have, however, been unable to discover any clue to his name, or even to his position.

There are passages in the letters which leave no doubt that the author was a Protestant; and it will be observed that he invariably refers to the French in the third person, and never identifies himself with that nation.

he will endeavour to persuade the Emperor that it is the act of France, and that it was his wish that Casal, when taken, should be placed at the disposal of his Imperial Majesty. For this purpose, he, on the one hand, endeavours to alarm France by a prospect of its speedy loss, and on the other to retard its fall. But as France is convinced that the preservation of Pignerol depends on that of Casal, she only listens to these propositions so far as they tend to retard the operations against Casal.[1]

Mr. Broughton[2] *to Lord Lexington.*

Venice, June 11, 1695.

The Inquisitor Menio hath told the Senate he hath already found traitors to God and their country. He goes to live in the Lazaretta, to make further progress. The noble Corner is put in chains, the nobles Quirini and Pisani are said to be much in danger of their lives; no correspondence by letter or otherwise

[1] The account of the negotiation with the Duke of Savoy is not, indeed, entirely correct; it falls short of the truth; for the terms on which Casal was to be delivered up to that Prince were already arranged between him and Louis XIV.—*Vide* Mém. de Tessé.

Such precautions, however, were taken to conceal this negotiation, the success of which in a great measure depended on its not being divulged before the appointed time, that it is extraordinary that the writer of this letter should have known so much.

Lord Lexington did not fail to communicate to the British minister at Turin his suspicions of the good faith of the Duke; but Lord Galway, although occasionally distrustful, was deceived until the last moment; and William III., in a letter of so late a date as the 1st August, 1695, writes thus to the Duke of Shrewsbury:—

"I do not think we have any reason to fear any arrangement between France and the Duke of Savoy; and I am of opinion that he has acted right in accepting the capitulation of Casal without any previous negotiation." — Coxe's 'Shrewsbury Correspondence.'

[2] The Venetian republic had hitherto evaded the formal recognition of William; but Mr. Broughton performed the duties, although he did not assume the official character, of British Consul at Venice.

is permitted at the Lazaretta, or with those aboard the two ships of war lately come from the Armado, all being strictly guarded. The State is much troubled and the Senate confused at the miscarriages. There are great animosities amongst the nobles here on account of their relations that have miscarried in the Armado. It is said one or two of their ships were burnt by fire kindled in the paper screens, for they acted plays aboard when the Turks came upon them.[1]

Mr. Stepney to Lord Lexington.

Carlsbad, June $\frac{4}{14}$, 1695.

We pass our time here as merrily as people can do. We have built a house which cost 2000 florins, and will last no longer than Jonah's gourd. It is of an Italian invention, with four retirades, dim-lights, couches, and all other moveables which make love easy. We have brought from Dresden six waggons full of lustres and looking-glasses to adorn the building; and on the 6th (16th) we are to have a masquerade, wherein Koningsmark[2] represents Diana, and enters accompanied by six nymphs. I cannot tell to whose turn it may fall to play Actæon, but I dare swear there will

[1] The Turks had recently gained a complete victory over the Venetian fleet, near the Dardanelles: the latter lost three vessels and 1600 men, and were forced to relinquish Scio to the enemy. This disaster created the greatest alarm and confusion in Venice. Treachery was imputed to the Captain General Zeno, who had succeeded the renowned François Morosini in that office. He was immediately disgraced, and conducted to Venice, loaded with chains. On his arrival he was, with the other chief officers of the fleet, imprisoned, and a strict inquiry instituted into his conduct. He died, however, during the investigation. The other officers were degraded from all civil and military employments.—*Vide* Daru's 'History of Venice.'

[2] The Countess.

be horns grafted before the night is over, for I perceive that's the main design of this meeting.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.[1]

Vienna, June 22, 1695.

Our letters from Turin give us an account of a foolish marriage Prince Charles of Brandenburgh[1] has

[1] Prince Charles of Brandenburgh was serving in Piedmont with the allied army, to which were attached three regiments of Brandenburgh troops. He was young, gay, and sensitive, and the charms of the Comtesse de Salmoure, the widow of an officer of dragoons, made so deep an impression on his heart that he resolved on a marriage with this lady, who, although so far his inferior in rank, seems by her subsequent conduct to have been worthy of his love. To disarm suspicion, it was agreed that the marriage should be privately solemnized at the Vénerie, a country house belonging to the Duke of Savoy; and the ceremony was about to be commenced, when one of the assembled guests, to whom the secret had not been previously confided, was so much shocked at the proposed misalliance of the Prince, that drawing his sword, he furiously attacked the priest, and forced him to fly for his life. The Prince, however, was not discouraged by this failure, but warned by what had occurred, he forthwith resolved to adopt the royal mode of marrying by proxy, and a few days afterwards one of his attendants married the Countess in the name of his master. The Duke of Savoy was soon informed of the marriage; and failing in the attempt to persuade the Prince to disown his union with the Countess, adopted more violent measures to break it. A party of armed men forcibly entered the Prince's bedchamber, and notwithstanding a determined resistance on his part, in which he wounded one of the assailants, they carried off his wife, and conveyed her to a convent, in which she was strictly guarded. The Prince was himself placed under arrest; but he firmly refused to listen to the entreaties or the threats by which his brother, the Elector of Brandenburgh, and the Duke of Savoy, endeavoured to induce him to disavow his marriage. He made several vain attempts to release his wife from her prison, and a few months afterwards died of a fever caused by grief and disappointment, leaving all that he possessed to his widow, as a mark of his continued attachment.

Upon his death, the Princess was released from confinement. Although very poor, she preferred reputation to wealth, and honourably refused the sum of 25,000 ducats (about 6000*l.*), which was offered by the Duke of Savoy, as the price of her admitting the informality of her marriage with the unfortunate Prince.—*Vide* Mém. de Comte D., published 1703.

made for himself, which I am very sorry for, as he was the hopefullest of all those younger brothers.

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, June $\frac{13}{23}$, 1695.

The French army in Catalonia is 14,000 foot and 4000 horse, but all starving for want of provisions, so that they desert in great numbers, which our Admiral taking advantage of, caused a paper to be printed in English and dispersed among them, encouraging the King's subjects to quit the French, and serve their own Prince either as soldiers or seamen,[1] entering them into

[1] Great numbers of Irish and some English and Scotch Jacobites contributed to swell the armies of Louis XIV. Their case, indeed, was peculiar. They were not fighting against their sovereign, and they believed they were fighting for their religion. But one of the most remarkable features of the age was the ease with which the ties of kindred and of country were broken; and the readiness with which, as the occasion offered, the service of one sovereign was exchanged for that of another. This no doubt arose partly, but not entirely, from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and from the conflicting claims of the rival candidates for the throne of Great Britain. The effect, however, was not the less curious.

Maréchal Schomberg was a German by birth. He commanded in succession the armies of France, of Portugal, of Holland, and of England. He received the bâton of Maréchal from Louis XIV., and was created an English Duke by William III.

The greater part of Lord Galway's life was passed in fighting against the land of his birth; and at the battle of Almanza it was the curious fate of this French commander of an English army to be defeated by a French army under the command of the English Duke of Berwick.

Prince Eugene, too, was born and educated in France. It is true that he was not of French origin; but he certainly owed no natural allegiance to the Emperor.

The Prince de Vaudemont, the friend and confidant of William III., espoused, in the war of the Succession, the cause of the grandson of Louis XIV., while his son held a high command in the army of the rival candidate for the crown of Spain.

Lord Feversham, by birth a Frenchman, the nephew of Turenne, and brother of Maréchal de Lorges, was promoted by James II. to the

immediate pay and new clothing them, with a pistole in hand to each man, which had so good effect that our Consul of Barcelona had in a few days listed above 200 of them, who assure more of their fellows will follow.

Sir William Trumbull[1] *to Lord Lexington.*

Whitehall, June 14, 1695.

All things are here quiet and well, only Captain George Porter[2] and Sir John Fenwick and ten or eleven others celebrating on Monday last the birthday of the pretended Prince of Wales at a tavern in Drury Lane, drew upon them, besides the officers of justice, the indignation of the people, from which they very hardly escaped; one of them is since taken and in prison, and warrants are out against the rest, who will have no occasion to brag of their ill-timed frolic.

Mr. Broughton to Lord Lexington.

Venice, June 25, 1695.

It is said several other nobles are accused for the ill fortune and miscarriages at Scio; and so far as I can learn, they were all to blame to be in masquerade and acting plays, when the enemy was so near, watching advantage to surprise them. This breeds disgust amongst several noble families; and if the French had an

command in chief of the British army; and the Baron de Goertz, a native of Holstein, was employed in a diplomatic capacity by the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, as well as by William III., before he finally attached himself to Charles XII. of Sweden.

[1] Secretary of State for the Northern Province.

[2] Captain Porter and Sir John Fenwick were both implicated in the plot for the assassination of William, and the invasion of the kingdom, which was discovered early in the following year.

opportunity of blowing the bellows, I know not how great the flame might be.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, July 2, 1695.

Yesterday the old Venetian Ambassador came and made me a visit, and told me that his masters finding how necessary a peace was in general amongst the princes of Europe, both upon their own accounts and for resisting the Turks, who now seem resolved, under the conduct of a young Prince, flushed with victory, to push their fortune more vigorously than ever, had ordered all their ministers at the several courts where they were, to endeavour the same; and in particular, to show their respect to his Majesty, had nominated two Ambassadors Extraordinary, in the first place to compliment him, and afterwards to offer their mediation for the effectuating a just and reasonable peace. [1]

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, July 8, 1695.

'T is my duty to trouble your Lordship as a public minister, now things move so fast in Flanders. We have undertaken there a great deal of work in the siege of Namur, which is much stronger since the French have had it. [2] Mr. Coehorn, who had a principal hand

[1] This offer was declined, and the Venetian Ambassadors did not proceed to England with their long-deferred compliment to the King until the following year, 1696.

[2] It will be remarked that in 1692 the defence of Namur was conducted by General Coehorn, while the siege was superintended by Maréchal de Vauban, and Namur fell. Vauban in his turn exerted all his skill to restore and strengthen the works, but in 1695 his rival was victorious, and Namur surrendered to the Allies, of whom Coehorn was, as Prior says, the oracle. Thus proving that the art of attack was better understood by these celebrated engineers than that

in the fortifications when the French took it, is our great engineer and oracle. The Marquis de Boufflers[1] is got into the town, where he commands in chief, and under him the Count de Guiscar; they have fifteen battalions of foot and two regiments of dragoons in the town. His Majesty, on the other side, determines a close siege, and to[2] the Liège and Brandenburg troops and those commanded by the Earl of Athlone; the King has sent for twenty battalions from the army commanded by Prince Vaudemont, which lies about Deynse, and we are falling seriously to work. God send us good luck, for we play high.

Our Elector Palatine[3] is here, gaping for mass-houses in a Protestant country, and sounding trumpets at midnight whilst everybody is at war.

My Lord Villiers arrived yesterday, and is still at Rotterdam. I have been all day (for I write at midnight) to wait on him. His Lordship designs to be here to-morrow. I know not what is to become of me, nor shall, I believe, till the latter end of the campaign. Patienza!

of defence, or that no artificial fortifications could resist a siege skilfully directed.

[1] Louis François de Boufflers was born of a noble family in Picardy, and entered the Royal Guards at the age of nineteen. He served with distinction under Condé, Turenne, and Luxemburgh, and his military talents attracted the notice and gained for him the esteem of these great commanders.

M. de Boufflers was not a favourite of fortune, but his reputation did not suffer by defeat. His resolute defence of Namur in 1695 (the occasion referred to by Prior), and his determined resistance to Prince Eugene at Lisle in 1708, with his celebrated retreat after the defeat of the French army at Malplaquet in 1709, deservedly raised him to the first rank of the great military commanders of the age.

He was no less conspicuous for the honourable simplicity of his character than for his brilliant valour.

Maréchal de Boufflers died in 1711.

[2] Prior has omitted a word here. The sentence, however, is correctly copied from the original.

[3] John William, second Elector Palatine of the Roman Catholic house of Neuburgh.

Lord Galway to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Camp near Casal, $\frac{\text{June } 30}{\text{July } 10}$, 1695.

We were surprised yesterday morning by hearing the chamade beat; we were as yet but at the foot of the glacis, and had not ventured to hope the enemy would have surrendered so soon.[1] As soon as the hostages were given on both sides, M. de Crenan[2] sent the Lieutenant of the King with his proposals, of which the four following seem the most important.

1st. A neutrality throughout Italy until a peace.

2nd. The retention of all the artillery and the magazines.

[1] The Duke of Savoy, however, did not share in the surprise of his army; for the surrender of Casal was in accordance with an agreement to that effect, which he had concluded with Louis on the 29th April, exactly two months before.

By this agreement Casal was to be attacked vigorously by the Allies; and after a few days' siege it was to be surrendered; but the fortifications were to be razed, and if the Allies refused to accede to, or neglected to fulfil, this condition, the Duke was immediately to join the French army with all his forces.

The Duke of Savoy was not yet in a condition openly to break with the Allies, or to insist on the neutrality of Italy; but he engaged to prevent the allied troops under his command from acting offensively against France during the remainder of the year; and Louis likewise promised that the French forces should remain inactive for the same period. Both the allied and the French armies were to continue in Piedmont and Italy; and no reinforcements were to be sent from thence to the other contending armies on the Rhine or elsewhere.

These were the real terms on which Casal was surrendered. The first condition, namely, that of razing the fortifications, was distasteful to the Allies, and especially to the Emperor, but the Duke of Savoy gained his point. The two remaining conditions also were punctually fulfilled. And although the Duke was surrounded by the ministers and generals of the Allies, whose suspicions were already aroused, and who therefore watched every action, and scrutinized every order, with anxious distrust, they failed to discover, or at least were unable to prove, his treachery, until, having obtained most favourable terms from France, the Duke threw off the mask, and publicly announced that he had concluded a separate peace with the enemy.

[2] The Marquis de Crenan commanded the French garrison in Casal.

3rd. The destruction of the entire place; the present garrison to remain there until this article is fully carried into effect.

4th. The retention of the deserters, among whom there is a considerable number of the Emperor's troops.

The two first articles were positively refused, and M. de Crenan gave way: to speak frankly to you, the third did not at all displease his Royal Highness, who is really desirous that it should be carried into effect, and is by no means averse to the proposal that the destruction of the town and castle should follow that of the citadel, and that the French garrison should be the guarantee that this is done. His Royal Highness, therefore, has made but little opposition to this article, and does not think that the fourth should be allowed to hinder so important a cession. The Prince Eugene appears exceedingly dissatisfied with this capitulation, and has spoken of it as being disgraceful.

His Royal Highness has availed himself of the authority which gives him the command of the army, and has undertaken to give an account of his actions to his Imperial Majesty, and to obtain his approval of them; for this purpose he sends his adjutant to Vienna with the capitulation and his reasons. To tell you the truth, I believe that if we had rejected all their conditions, the enemy would not have surrendered, and Casal would have cost us both time and men.

July $\frac{2}{12}$ in the Evening.

The capitulation was not signed until yesterday evening, and yesterday his Royal Highness and Prince Eugene had a conversation of considerable length They appear to me disposed to maintain that good

understanding which is requisite for the public service, but it is absolutely necessary that his Imperial Majesty should approve of the capitulation.

Mr. Stepney to Lord Lexington.

Frankfort, July $\frac{2}{12}$, 1695.

I got hither last night, and, as luck would have it, I lit upon my old friend Jemmy Sanderson, and your cousin chaplain Mr. Sutton. I would have tempted them to have stayed a post or two (for by that time Mr. Cardonnell assures me from Mr. Blathwayt I shall have a positive answer whither I am to roll next), but the man of God was inflexible. I told him your Lordship was in no danger of dying, and that it would be no great load upon either your conscience or his if he loitered three or four days more or less. But because he presumes my Lady and your cousin Davers may be more impatient for spiritual comforts, my two gentlemen e'en took the resolution of leaving me and this good Red House; and are jogged on in a caravan, which is to lug them on at a foot-pace, so as to be at Ratisbonne in no less than eight days.

They have a pretty young woman and an ugly old one, who, I believe, may stick fast to them till they get to Nuremberg.

I am sorry my Elector[1] can find no better pastime with you than dancing and tennis. I was in hopes he would leave that sauntering life, and buckle to business when he got into the Emperor's eye. But I begin to fancy he will take a billiard-table and tennis-court with him to the camp, as King James had a moving chapel

[1] The Elector of Saxony.

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for the campaign at Hounslow. The fancy 's odd, and I really believe he would do it if anybody put it in his head.

Sir William Trumbull to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, July 12, 1695.

We had yesterday the welcome news of my Lord Berkeley's[1] having bombarded St. Malo with good success, and his having sent a squadron to do the like to Granville, a trading town, distant about seven leagues, which will go a great way towards destroying the nests of privateers that infest our western coast.

Mr. Stepney to Lord Lexington.

Frankfort, July $\frac{23}{13}$, 1695.

You will have found my Elector to be just the man I described him to you. Madlle. Lambert[2] is a pretty creature, and I hope may make him forget his Koningsmark.

Our news on all sides is very good. You have heard what short work they have made with Casal. Prince Vaudemont's retreat[3] has got him much honour, and our Englishmen before Namur have been lucky in their first attack. Next post may bring us news what execution Lord Berkeley has done at St. Malo. We want nothing but a vigorous action on the Rhine to make our joy complete,[4] and we know not how near

[1] Lord Berkeley of Stratton.

[2] The niece of Count Harrach.

[3] On receiving the account of this celebrated retreat, William III. wrote thus to the Prince de Vaudemont: "I am much obliged to you, for in this retreat you have given greater marks of a general, consummate in the arts of war, than if you had gained a victory." — Tindal's 'History.'

[4] Maréchal de Lorges, the nephew of Turenne, commanded the French army which had recently crossed the Rhine.

we may be to it; for the French army being decamped early on the 10th (20th) inst., the Confederates have made after them; but whether they have been able to compass their design of falling upon the enemy's rear, and where they lie now encamped, we expect to hear every minute, having seen no letters these two days on which we can rely, and our armies are at present as much incognito as Prince Prettyman's was in the Rehearsal. We hope at least that the Allies will tread so hard upon the heels of the French that they will not dare to weaken their body by making a detachment for Brabant, and so Namur must fall of course.

I have this moment received letters from Frizen,[1] of the 22nd from Waldorf. The French are scampering as hard as they can over Manheim. I think to go post to-morrow, in hopes to kill a Frenchman, which one may do safely when their back 's turned.

Mr. Blathwayt to Lord Lexington.

Before Namur, July $\frac{16}{26}$, no date but 1695.

The King exposes himself continually in the trenches and elsewhere. My Lord Selkirk, attending his Majesty, has received a hurt in his forehead by a stone raised by a cannon bullet. The wound is not so dangerous as honourable.

Mr. Stepney to Lord Lexington.

Frankfort, July $\frac{20}{30}$, 1695.

* * * I add herewith what is last come to my hands; whereby you will find we could not overtake the French before they had made their escape at Man-

[1] Count Frize.

heim, which is a great pity, for we had brought them into a corner between the Neckar and the Rhine, as he[1] had the Turks, four years ago, at Salankamen,[2] between the Save and the Danube; and being ten thousand men stronger than the French, must, in all probability, have defeated them. What next may be undertaken is kept a secret. At present the Confederate army lies fairly encamped with their right wing towards Heydelberg, and the left towards Schevetzingen. On Monday I intend to go thither, as we used to make a visit to Hounslow Heath, only for show.

Lord Galway to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Camp near Casal, July 30, N. S., no date but 1695.

His Royal Highness[3] has been much gratified in hearing that his conduct has appeared so satisfactory.[4] I think that he took a very proper step, and that if he had pursued any other course Casal would have been a subject of dangerous dissension.[5] It is right that I should inform you, my Lord, that from time to time advices are received from Vienna, which give some

[1] Prince Louis of Baden.

[2] The battle of Salankamen was fought in 1691; Prince Louis of Baden, who commanded the Imperial forces in Hungary, defeated the Turks with great slaughter.

[3] The Duke of Savoy.

[4] The Emperor had expressed a cold approval of the terms of the capitulation of Casal.

[5] Casal originally belonged to the Duke of Mantua (to whom it was shortly afterwards restored), but by a treaty signed in 1690, between the Duke of Savoy and the King of Spain, it was agreed that if Casal were recovered from the French, it should be given up to Spain. The Emperor, however, was supposed to desire to obtain it; and the Duke of Savoy himself was by no means insensible to its importance, while fortified, for it was close to his territories, and a place of great strength. Lord Galway therefore had good reason to believe that if the destruction of the fortifications had not formed one of the conditions of the surrender of Casal, serious differences might have arisen among the Allies with regard to its possession.

hints of a secret negotiation for peace, conducted by Mr. Dyckvelt.[1] I am persuaded that the King will always act in concert with his Imperial Majesty and the rest of the Allies. His conduct throughout his whole life ought to convince every one that he has the interest of his Allies more at heart than his own. Nevertheless, his Royal Highness is afraid that the barrier for the Low Countries is much more considered than the restitution of Pignerol. I cannot believe it, for all the Allies have fully recognized the advantage of the war in Italy, and must be aware that it is of the greatest importance to maintain this Prince in a condition to recommence it whenever France may show hostile intentions; but, if Pignerol remain in the possession of the French, they will always be at hand to attack him, while he must look for support from a distance.

Lord Portland to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Camp before Namur, Aug. 5, 1695.

We have been, I may say, night and day in the trenches and on horseback. You will have heard of the treason or cowardice, or both, of the garrisons of Dixmude[2] and Deynse; but, thank God, we are masters of the town,[3] and the King is well.

[1] I have been unable to discover any positive proof that these suspicions were correct; but notwithstanding Mr. Blathwayt's denial, there is good reason to believe that the communications between MM. Dyckvelt and Callières did not cease with the interview at Maestricht. However this may be, it was good policy on the part of the Duke of Savoy to express doubts of the sincerity of William III.

[2] General Ellemberg commanded at Dixmude, and Colonel O'Farrell at Deynse. The first made a slight show of resistance, but the second surrendered without firing a shot. Both were tried for their misconduct. General Ellemberg was shot, and Colonel O'Farrell cashiered.

[3] The town of Namur was surrendered to the Allies on the 3rd of

Mr. Blathwayt to Lord Lexington.

Camp at Maloigne, before the Castle of Namur,
Aug. 12, S. N. 1695.

Your Lordship will have been informed by Mr. Robinson [1] of the declaration lately given by the Court of Sweden to the Comte d'Avaux to the effect following—viz. that the King [2] does think the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen a very good foundation for a peace to be treated on, [3] and that in case this proposition be not accepted of, the King of Sweden finds himself obliged to comply with the treaties he has with the Allies for the affording them succours, and doing what is otherwise proper for settling the quiet of Christen-

August. The first article in the capitulation provided that the Roman Catholic religion should be exclusively maintained, and the exercise of any other religion absolutely forbidden and prevented, within the limits of the town. It appears at first sight curious that such terms should have been at once accepted by the champion of the Protestants; but Namur belonged to Spain, and it was obvious that any opposition to the demand would have been fruitless. William therefore wisely abstained from an appeal on behalf of the Protestants, which would have had no other effect than to cause dissensions among the Allies.

[1] Mr. Robinson was a clergyman. He was, in the first instance, appointed chaplain to the British embassy at Stockholm.

While in this capacity he displayed considerable talents for diplomacy; and on the return to England of the British Ambassador, he was named resident minister, and in 1695 Envoy Extraordinary, to the King of Sweden.

The diplomatic and civil services of Mr. Robinson were rewarded with high ecclesiastical preferment. On his return from Sweden, he was appointed Bishop of Bristol, and subsequently Bishop of London. He also filled the office of Lord Privy Seal, and was first Plenipotentiary for the peace of Utrecht. Mr. Robinson wrote an account of Sweden, which was published in 1694.

[2] Charles XI., King of Sweden.

[3] The Kings of Sweden and of Denmark were rival candidates for the office of mediator. The offers of neither had as yet been accepted, or formally declined; but negotiations for adjusting the preliminaries of a peace were in progress at the court of Sweden; and the Swedish minister, Count Oxienstern, was the channel of communication between the Comte d'Avaux and the ministers of the Allies.

dom.[1] This declaration the King[2] and States[3] do approve of, as what your Lordship will find most agreeable with your instructions. I suppose your Lordship has heard directly from Mr. Prior, or my Lord Villiers, of the treaty that is on foot at the Congress among the confederate ministers for renewing of the alliance, and continuing it after this war, which is as good as concluded.[4] It is impossible to hinder the bombarding, and perhaps the destruction, of the greatest part of Brussels.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, Aug. 13, 1695.

Yesterday I was with Count Chinski at his country house, and he seems more and more confirmed in his jealousies of a private treaty, managed by MM. Dyckvelt and Callières at Utrecht, and that it has gone so far that M. Dyckvelt has given orders for the buying of his equipage for the Congress. For my part, I did what I could to satisfy him to the contrary, and my reasons prevailed so far with the Spanish Ambassador, that I think he is at rest about it, as likewise the Savoy Ambassador,[5] with whom I had a long conference upon the subject of my Lord Galway's letter I sent you; but pray, Sir, is there not an old English proverb, that there is no smoke without fire? which makes me not know what to think; and they have so buzzed it in my ears, that I begin to imagine there may be something at the bottom.

[1] Sweden had hitherto evaded this engagement, and, as a strictly neutral power, enjoyed the advantage of an uninterrupted commerce with England and France.

[2] Of England.

[3] Of Holland.

[4] This treaty was signed at the Hague on the 8th August, 1695.

[5] The Marquis de Prié.

Mr. Blathwayt to Lord Lexington.

Before the Castle of Namur, Aug. $\frac{6}{16}$, 1695.

I have now his Majesty's commands, which have been explained to me by Mr. Dyckvelt—viz. that the Court of Vienna seeming to be alarmed with negotiations supposed to be carried on privately in these parts and in Holland with the French, and particularly by Mr. Dyckvelt, your Lordship is to assure the Emperor and his Ministers of the contrary, and that no step is made, or overture hearkened to, relating to peace, which is not immediately communicated to the Emperor's Ministers.

Mr. Dyckvelt does, indeed, own that for four or five months past there were conferences held at Maestricht, but that nothing passed of which Count Kaunitz had not a particular information; so that the Court of Vienna may be sure that neither his Majesty nor the States will give any just occasion of the least jealousy, though, indeed, our enemies may endeavour to raise suspicions among us.

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Aug. $\frac{19}{9}$, 1695.

I am sorry that I have no better news to send you than the bombarding of Brussels,[1] and (I think) the

[1] Brussels was bombarded on the 13th and 14th of August, by Maréchal de Villeroy, who had succeeded Maréchal de Luxemburgh in the command of the French army in Flanders. More than 3000 houses were burnt or destroyed. M. de Villeroy wrote to Prince Berghen, the governor of the town, stating that the bombardment of Brussels was in reprisal for that of St. Malo, and Granville, by the British fleet. On the 15th he withdrew his army, and marched towards Enghien.

no-bombarding of Dunkirk. For the first, it is too sure that the lower town of Brussels, and great part of the high town, is in ashes; and till we have our Flanders letters at noon, we know not what mischief is done there, nor which way the enemy will take in order to his doing more. For the latter, we only have it by sad experience that Dunkirk cannot be hurt by any machines Mr. Meesters[1] can invent. We have thrown some few bombs into the place of some hundreds which have failed, and having lost five or six of our wel-boats and a Dutch frigate, are retired from before the place, and (I think) let the Risbank stand as firm as ever it did. This I take in general to be the state of an affair of which the particulars will not be more agreeable. The King hastens, as much as possible, the siege of the Castle of Namur: it goes on, however, slow, but we hope, sure; and so much for the public.

Mr. Ellis[2] *to Lord Lexington.*

Whitehall, Aug. 9, 1695.

Lord Berkeley is come with his fleet into the Downs, having done nothing at Dunkirk or Calais. At the former, the machine-ships, as they are called, did nothing but blow up themselves, and the credit of their inventor[3] as some say; but he being come hither, complains he was not seconded with ships as he ought

[1] Mr. Meesters was a Dutch officer of engineers, and was at this time attached to the Channel fleet, under the command of Lord Berkeley of Stratton. The invention referred to by Mr. Prior signally failed.

[2] The new Under Secretary in Sir W. Trumbull's office, Mr. Ellis, was the brother of Bishop Ellis, who was for some time employed by the deposed King (James II.) as his agent at Rome, and of Sir William Ellis, Lord Tyrconnel's Secretary.

[3] Mr. Meesters.

to have been, so that something is like to come hereout of the nothing done there and elsewhere.

Mr. Blathwayt to Lord Lexington.

Before the Castle of Namur, Aug. $\frac{16}{26}$, no date but 1695.

I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 13th, and am to make the same answer to it as to that of the 10th, in reference to Mr. Dyckvelt; which is, that your Lordship deny there has been of late any such private negotiation, as your Lordship is instructed in my former letter. Now, my Lord, our affairs are come to a crisis. The breaches are so far advanced in the castle, that we are ready for an assault in a day or two. In the mean time, Mons. de Villeroy is come with his army this day to Fleurus, and the King is gone this afternoon to ours at Maese, in expectation of a battle to-morrow morning if the French do attack us, as there is great appearance, unless they design to pass by us to Louvain or Liège to bombard those places, for which they have materials with them. Your Lordship has reason to be uneasy till you hear further from us, which I hope may be to your satisfaction.

Mr. Stepney to Lord Lexington.

At the King's Quarters before Namur, Aug. $\frac{16}{26}$, 1695.

You will allow me to magnify my merit in telling you that I have brought my detachment[1] safe and sound to join our armies just in time, when we have most need of them. I have been here three days, and

[1] Mr. Stepney had been commissioned to hurry the advance of a body of Hessian troops, which were marching to Namur.

expect to satisfy my curiosity in seeing both a battle and a storm, for we think we shall have both within three or four days. We have 3000 horse, who have joined Prince Vaudemont at Mazy, and 7000 foot, who help at the siege. The King has gone this evening to the first of these places, and I follow to-morrow, which you may certainly take as an omen of some great action. I never led a more pleasant life; the King is very gracious to me, and continues my allowance for only attending him from one camp to another on other people's horses. Your Lordship will easily comprehend what I mean, for you were in the same circumstances this time twelvemonths. We are confident the coehorn and castle will be ours; the breaches are large in both of them. You may believe me: I have seen them, for I have been both on the batteries and in the trenches without being Godfreyed.[1] We are likewise certain of beating the French if they dare to attack us, for we have 70,000 men, which is as great an army as they are able to bring together. Besides, we are intrenched, and they must be the aggressors; and, consequently, must be more exposed if they pretend to come at us. This I tell you that you may drink your bottle quietly with Mr. Heemskerck,[2] without being molested with what other letters and gazettes may tell you.

[1] Mr. Godfrey, the Deputy Governor of the Bank, was killed by a cannon ball in the trenches, before Namur, while in attendance upon the King. He was the brother of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

[2] Mr. Heemskerck was the Envoy of the United Provinces at Vienna. He had recently arrived at Vienna from Constantinople, whither he had been sent to endeavour to negotiate a peace between Austria and the Porte.

The Turks, however, refused to listen to these overtures, and paid so little regard to the sacred character of an ambassador, that they arrested Mr. Heemskerck at Belgrade, and detained him there for several months.

This day the Duke of Ormond[1] remembered you, and the other day Mr. Blathwayt, in the best Grecian wine that was ever tipped over tongue. You know Jupiter was born in Candia, and were I a god, I would live in an island that produces such wines. Coehorn has laid the Elector of Bavaria[2] 400 pistoles that all the works are ours, and we masters of the place, before Wednesday the 31st.[3] Others may write you more serious news.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, Aug. 27, 1695.

* * He[4] acquainted me that he had letters from Swedland, which gave reasons for the late coldness Count D'Avaux has shown; which are, first, the prospect the French have of succeeding by some other private canal,[5] and of treating; secondly, the hopes they are in that His Majesty will fall under their treacherous plots[6] against his person; and, thirdly, some hopes they have of *revolutions next winter* in England, and

[1] The Duke of Ormond subsequently rose to high military command; but his principal post at this time was that of Lord of the Bedchamber to the King.

[2] Maximilian Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria, was the Viceroy of Spanish Flanders.

The Elector married, first, the only daughter of the Emperor Leopold, by his first wife, the sister of the King of Spain; and his son by this marriage, born in 1692, was the Prince to whom the crown of Spain was allotted by the first treaty of partition in 1698.

The Elector married, secondly, in August, 1694, Theresa, only daughter of John Sobieski, King of Poland.

[3] General Cochorn lost the wager. The Castle of Namur was not surrendered until the 1st, and the Allies did not take possession of it until the 5th of September.

[4] Count Chinski.

[5] Alluding probably to the correspondence between M. de Callières and M. de Dyckvelt.

[6] The conspiracy for assassinating the King, and for the invasion of England, was discovered in February, 1696.

that the Parliament and people will grow weary of the charges of so expensive a war. God in Heaven preserve His Majesty's person, and I think there is now great danger of the rest.

(Translation.) Paris, Aug. 29, 1695.

Should an action take place, the King must be on his guard. They think that peace depends upon him, and that it can only be obtained by his death. We have intelligence that the Allies in Italy are deliberating whether they ought to besiege Suza, enter France, or invest Pignerol more closely, in readiness for its siege in the spring.[1] The Duke of Savoy inclines to the first course, the Germans and Spaniards to the last. All parties would unite in the second if they could rely on the support of Admiral Russell, in which case they would even besiege Nice. With these conflicting opinions it is expected that the season will pass away and nothing be done.[2] However, they have just despatched a courier hence to Turin, under the pretence of carrying from Monsieur[3] the news of the accouchement of the Duchesse de Chartres.[4]

[1] The council referred to was held on the 3rd (13th) August at Turin. The account here given of the deliberations of the generals of the allied army is substantially correct.

[2] It will be remembered that the Duke of Savoy had entered into a secret engagement with Louis XIV. that the allied army under his command should abstain from any act of aggression against France during the remainder of the campaign.

[3] "Monsieur," Philip Duke of Orleans, the brother of Louis XIV. The Duchess of Savoy was his daughter by his first wife, Henrietta Maria of England.

[4] Philip, Duc de Chartres, succeeded his father as Duke of Orleans in 1701, and is better known by that title, and as Regent of France during the minority of Louis XV. He married, in 1692, Mademoiselle de Blois, natural daughter of Louis XIV., by Madame de Montespan.

Mr. Stepney to Lord Lexington.

At the King's Quarters at the Abbey of Maloigne,
Tuesday night, Aug. $\frac{20}{30}$, 1695.

I promised you an account of our military exploits; you must be contented with one without form or figure, for I am no soldier; but I may venture to assure you what I tell you is truth, because I have been an eye witness of all I relate.

Yesterday we expected the French[1] would attack us, and therefore we made ready to receive them by five in the morning. I followed the King all the day, but we saw nothing but advanced parties of seven or eight squadrons and as many battalions, who came to visit the situation of our camp, but they found us too well posted to venture to attack us, for we were half covered by thick woods in our front, and the rest was intrenched; besides, our army consisted of 94 battalions and 260 squadrons, which was very little inferior to their army. They therefore deferred coming at us yesterday, but, by our spies, we understood they would disturb us this morning by break of day, for which reason I (you must take notice I make myself the hero) lay rough in the King's quarters, expecting to come to action as soon as the sun rose. Our quarters were at Brounesse, an hour and a half from this place. Our army lay there, with the left beyond Mazy, the centre towards St. Denis (where we thought the French would break in), and the right to Ostin; but hearing, this morning, that the French had fallen back behind the Maloigne, whereby we supposed they despaired of

[1] Under Maréchal de Villeroy.

relieving the rest of Namur, we resolved to attempt making ourselves masters of it by four several attacks, which I saw as clearly from the hills as if I had seen a mock fight on the stage from a box.

The signal (which was blowing up two barrels of powder) was given between twelve and one. The English marched first out of their trenches to attack the old castle, and what we call the Terra Nova. My Lord Cutts (who, you know, loves to play the hero) had the direction of this attack, and, as to his person, did very bravely, for he ordered drums to beat and colours to fly, as he says was practised at the siege of Buda:[1] 15 grenadiers and a serjeant began the march, seconded by 50 grenadiers more and a lieutenant, and a small company of cadets, who were sustained by Colonels Colthrope's, Buchan's, Hamilton's, and Mackay's four regiments, the worst in our army, and who had never before seen a warm action. Our men were so eager to engage that they ran themselves out of breath and entered the breach, but found behind it a precipice, which it was impossible to pass; at the same time they were charged with an hail of stones, which scoured them out of the post they had taken, and the four regiments I have mentioned shamefully turned back and ran for it, there being no officer able to rally them, every colonel or lieutenant-colonel being either killed or desperately wounded. Dear Colthrope is most lamented; he was shot in the groin and died upon the spot. His lieutenant-colonel, Sir Matthew Bridges, has his shoulder shattered, and will scarce recover. We had certainly avoided this disgrace of running if it had not

[1] Lord Cutts had served in Hungary as Aide-de-camp to the Duke of Lorraine. Buda was taken by assault in 1686.

been for an ill accident which happened to Lord Cutts, who, in the beginning of the storm, had a small shot on the side of the head, which, as soon as he could get dressed, he continued with great diligence and bravery to regain our lost honour by rallying a battalion of our scattered scoundrels, who marched to the assistance of the Bavarians, when they began to faulter, and by opening to the right and left, marched to the head of their attack, and helped them to take post on the breach. The Brandenburghers (to whom the Hessians were joined) have likewise made a lodgment on their side, and the Dutch on theirs. The English only are unhappy, which makes us very melancholy for the present.[1] Colonel Windsor (who has a regiment of horse in England, and who is here as volunteer) is shot through the head, and I believe will die: so will one Thompson,[2] a fool of 4000*l.* a year, who is likewise come a volunteering. Stanhope[3] (our Envoy's son) had his shin broken by a stone, and is shot through the calf of the leg. Your friend Gray and I sleep to-night in a whole skin, and give shelter to my Lord Paston, who is at a loss for a bed. The Elector of Bavaria has lost considerably on his side; Monsieur Revera, &c., who adorned his court, are knocked on the head. In short, I believe this day's work has cost us 1600 or 2000 men. Perhaps to-morrow we shall have another brush, and, I believe, shall be bloody enough to give no

[1] Mr. Blathwayt, in his letter of the 2nd September, page 118, gives a more favourable report of the conduct of the British troops on this occasion; but it is probable that Mr. Stepney's account is correct.

[2] Mr. Thompson recovered; and the King rewarded him for his gallant conduct on this occasion with a company in the Guards.

[3] James Stanhope, afterwards Earl Stanhope, was the son of Mr. Stanhope, the British minister at Madrid.

quarter, since they defend themselves so desperately, though my Lord Portland, before the attack, summoned them to capitulate, considering no army was moving to their relief. I have no time to write more.

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, Sept. 1, 1695, N. S.

Our siege of Palamos is ended as I always believed it would.

Admiral Russell landed there 2500 English and 500 Dutch, at the desire of the Marques de Gastanaga, limiting them only to eight days' stay. Meanwhile, we flung in, from our ships, 2500 bombs, which destroyed the greatest part of the town, after which the Admiral, having certain advice from Toulon that the French were coming out with 55 sail to pass to the north, he re-embarked his men to go look after them.[1] Though this happened after the troops from Flanders were arrived at their camp, yet the Spaniards were so discouraged at our going away, that they have quitted the siege, and indeed I believe they had not of themselves materials to carry it on after ours left them, besides the great misunderstandings that are between the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt[2] and the Marques de Gastanaga.

Whether our fleet be sailed again to the Levant, or

[1] In a letter dated the 16th (26th) August, and addressed to the Duke of Shrewsbury (*vide* Coxe's 'Shrewsbury Correspondence'), Admiral Russell justified his conduct, on the grounds stated by Mr. Stanhope; and he went so far as to impute treachery, as well as cowardice, to the Spanish commanders. But his enemies believed that his temper, which was odious, and his dissatisfaction at being detained in the Mediterranean, which was notorious, contributed at least to his sudden departure from Palamos.

[2] The Prince of Hesse Darmstadt was first cousin to the Queen of Spain. He commanded the German auxiliary forces in Catalonia.

back to the Straits, they do not write me, but I rather believe the latter.

We hear the King of Persia besieges Babylon, which, if so, will make a powerful diversion in the Emperor's favour for Hungary.

Mr. Blathwayt to Lord Lexington.

Camp at Ostin, Sept. 2, 1695.

By the last post I could give your Lordship but an imperfect account of the attack of the castle,[1] which is now rectified; and I am glad I was mistaken in apprehending from some discourses that our countrymen had not behaved themselves so well as could have been wished, when, in truth, the difficulty, or rather impracticability, of their first attack does more than vindicate their honour; and the assistance they gave the Spaniards and Bavarians at the coehorn, in making the lodgments upon the counterscarp (which they hardly attempted before), will always be judged the chief occasion of the enemy's surrendering the castle. This news will not a little rejoice your Lordship, as it raises the reputation of his Majesty's arms to a high pitch, and adds great weight to the common cause.

Lord Galway to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Camp near Casal, Sept. 2, 1695.

I am convinced that the suspicions[2] which his Royal Highness has entertained are ill founded. We have, indeed, in our turn some cause for distrust, but I hope that this will pass away.

[1] Of Namur.

[2] Of the secret negotiations with M. de Callières.

Lord Portland to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Camp d'Austin, near Namur, Sept. 3, no date but 1695.

On the 30th of August we assaulted the castle and won the counterscarps. On the 1st of this month the enemy offered to capitulate. They, yesterday, gave up the outworks to us in the presence of an army consisting of more than 100 battalions and 200 squadrons of horse. The besieged quit the place the day after to-morrow. The enemy[1] retreated as soon as they learnt that the place had surrendered, that is yesterday, at noon. They marched the whole of the night in haste and disorder, and are still in motion. Before we lost sight of them yesterday we saluted them with three salvoes of all our artillery and of that of the army, in honour of this happy success, for which God be thanked. If this good news does not satisfy you, I will put another grain in the scale, and tell you that our fleet has avenged, in part, on Calais[2] the bombardment of Brussels.

(Translation.) Paris, Sept. 5, 1695.

We are informed, by express, from the Duke de Vendôme, that he marched to Palamos, with the intention of giving battle to the enemy; but, when in sight of them, he heard that Admiral Russell had just landed 7500 troops, and the army, which he had estimated at 15,000, was thus raised to 22,000 men; he therefore thought it prudent to retire. By a second express, M.

[1] Under Maréchal de Villeroy.

[2] Burnet says that a few bombs were thrown into Calais, but that the French did not suffer so much by the bombardment as was expected.

de Vendôme has announced that the Spaniards have suddenly raised the siege, for which he is unable to account, as he was not in a condition to force them to do so. A courier, however, from Maréchal de Tourville[1] has, in some degree, explained the mystery, for he reports that Admiral Russell has appeared before Toulon with the whole of his fleet. I am assured that M. de Callières is at Liège, and that he was instructed, in case Namur should be relieved, to offer the same terms which had previously been refused. It was thought that the alarm caused by such an event would have induced the Allies to accept these conditions; but, as affairs have taken a different course, it is expected that M. de Callières will speedily return.

Those who know the King will readily believe that he feels acutely the loss of Namur, which is indeed the more mortifying, as he expected that the place would be relieved, and even anticipated a victory over the Allied army. His Majesty passed a portion of the night preceding the attack on Namur in prayer and devotion, and having privately sent for his confessor, received the Sacrament early in the morning. Mde. de Maintenon joined her intercessions to those of the King, and engaged the Capucines of Meudon also to offer up their prayers.

This disaster has revived public indignation against Maréchal de Villeroy. He is loudly censured for having aspired to a command for which neither his talents or reputation entitled him; and they scarcely refrain from

[1] In 1690, the Comte de Tourville gained a victory over the allied fleets in the Channel, which caused great consternation in England. In 1692, however, he was in his turn defeated by Admiral Russell at the battle of La Hogue.

In 1693 he received the bâton of Maréchal, and died in 1701.

blaming the King for having preferred him to so many others whom they consider better qualified for the post.[1] The Prince de Conti is the favourite with the people, but this contributes to prevent his advancement. When the nomination of Commander-in-Chief in Flanders was under consideration, two of the Ministers joined in recommending M. de Conti. "It is useless," said the King, "for two reasons, to mention him to me: in the first place, I do not like him; and in the second, my son, my brother, and the other princes of the blood would justly take offence at such an appointment."[2]

Mr. Blathwayt to Lord Lexington.

Camp at Bouquet, near Templen, Sept. 6, 1695.

I know your Lordship will be well pleased to understand that we are in possession of the castle of Namur, and no less surprised at what has happened to Mons. de Boufflers, whom the King has thought fit to keep prisoner in reprisal for our garrisons at Dixmude and Deynse, that are detained and treated very barbarously by the French, against all reason and justice; it being agreed, by the first article of their capitulations, that they shall be prisoners of war, according to the cartel, by which it is expressly provided that all

[1] The father of Maréchal de Villeroy was the governor of Louis XIV., when young; and the Maréchal himself was a personal favourite with the King.

[2] François Louis Prince de Conti, the nephew of the great Condé, and in 1697 the unsuccessful competitor with the Elector of Saxony for the crown of Poland. In 1685, this Prince left France for Vienna, with the intention of serving in the Imperial army against the Turks. The journey was undertaken without the permission, or rather in defiance of the wishes of the King. The discovery of a letter written by the Prince, and containing some sarcastic remarks against Louis, completed his disgrace; and the King never forgave him.

prisoners of war shall be released within fifteen days after their being reclaimed, as these have been more than once, without any other effect than a plain refusal from the Maréchal de Villeroy and the Intendant of Flanders, which they own to be grounded upon the convenience to their master's service, and not any right.

This has obliged the King to proceed in this manner, wherein he is justified by the law of nations and the protection due to his subjects, of which there are six regiments in captivity, and such of them, as well as of the other troops that will not take service, kept in dungeons, hardly with bread and water.

Your Comte Oxienstern[1] is sujet à caution, and no friend of the Chancellor's.

(Translation.) Paris, Sept. 12, 1695.

The arrest of Maréchal de Boufflers has caused much surprise and conversation here. Various reasons are assigned for it: some attribute it to his refusal to salute King William, and this impression is strengthened by the report that the Elector of Bavaria[2] did not take any part in the matter. Whatever the real reason may be, the detention of the prisoners of Dixmude and Deynse is alleged as the cause; and the King, therefore, has given the necessary orders for the liberation of these prisoners on the payment of the stipulated ransom. His Majesty has also permitted the Maréchal to avail himself of the offer of the enemy, and to return on parole. He is expected here in the course of eight or ten days.

[1] The Swedish Envoy at Vienna. He was cousin to the Chancellor, Count Benedict Oxienstern.

[2] It is stated that Maréchal de Boufflers saluted the Elector, but refused this honour to William. This circumstance, however, had no connection with his arrest.

Many of the prisoners, however, have joined the French army, and others have escaped; it is thought, therefore, that some difficulty may arise to retard his liberation. The King has promised to the Comte de Guiscar the next cordon-bleu, he has conferred upon him a pension of 12,000 livres, and has given him reason to expect a command between the Sambre and Meuse.[1] The army of Catalonia is still in amazement at the sudden abandonment of the siege of Palamos. They cannot account for it, for they were only 10,000 strong, while the enemy, with the troops landed by Admiral Russell, numbered 25,000. So little cause, indeed, had the latter for alarm, that they (the French) themselves expected an immediate attack on their camp, or, at least, that it would have been delayed only until the surrender of Palamos, which could not have held out for more than three days at the longest, if the siege and bombardment had been continued with the same vigour with which it was commenced. It is thought that there must have been a misunderstanding among the Generals.

It does not appear that the Duke of Savoy has concerted any plan with Admiral Russell for invading Provence; but it is feared that he will march on Suza or Pignerol, while the fleet holds the coast in check. The Duke thought that the Marquis de Crenan was proceeding too leisurely with the rasure of the interior fortifications of Casal, and he therefore sent him notice that he would not be permitted to remain there after

[1] Louis XIV. lavished on the officers of the vanquished garrison of Namur pensions, decorations, and commands. St. Simon states that William III. sarcastically expressed his admiration of the generosity of the French King, and lamented his inability to reward the victors with equal liberality.

the 8th of September, and that he must complete the demolition of the works by that time.

The Nuncio and the Venetian Ambassador here thought it a favourable opportunity, and made proposals for peace to M. de Croissy;[1] he, however, replied that they were greatly in error: that the fall of Namur delayed, rather than advanced, the prospect of a peace; that the King was more resolute than ever, and that he would not even hear it mentioned until next spring, when he hoped to have an army superior to that of the enemy.

Maréchal de Villeroy is abused incessantly, both by the public and by his own troops. The soldiers have presented a petition to the Devil, beseeching him to take this General and give them back Maréchal de Luxemburgh.[2] The arrest of Maréchal de Boufflers has stung the King to the quick; he rarely allows his emotions to appear, but he cannot now disguise his vexation. Their annoyance is the greater, as they have brought it upon themselves, and have at the same time failed to obtain the object of their violation of the cartel, which was the relief of Namur. It is amusing to hear the mutual recriminations of the army and the garrison. The whole blame, however, is thrown upon the Maréchal, who is so severely censured, that the King has thought it necessary to support him by openly declaring that he duly executed his orders, that he approves his conduct, and that when he wishes to retake

[1] M. de Croissy, the brother of Colbert, was at this time minister for foreign affairs. He died in 1696, and was succeeded in that office by his son, M. de Torcy.

[2] The Maréchal de Luxemburgh, who preceded Maréchal de Villeroy in the command of the French army in Flanders, died in January, 1695.

Namur it will not cost more than 4000 men, while it would probably have cost 20,000 to relieve it. This, however, does not prevent the public from exercising their wit at the expense of the Maréchal. From the poets to the porters and fishwomen, every one is ready with a jest. Maréchal de Boufflers also, though loaded with honours, does not escape their sarcasms. They say, that in the reign of the most glorious of kings he should not have forgotten the maxim that a Maréchal of France never capitulates. I am assured that, at the commencement of the siege, M. de Callières had almost succeeded in concluding a peace; but the detention of the garrisons of Dixmude and Deynse, the bombardment of Brussels, and the dispute respecting the wounded at Namur,[1] have caused so much bitterness of feeling that it now appears more distant than ever. Callières is not yet returned: he is, however, expected shortly.

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, Sept. 15, 1695.

This court is very angry with the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt for withdrawing his troops after Admiral Russell had re-embarked ours, and have sent to the Emperor, that if they are not to be absolutely under command of his Catholic Majesty and his Generals,

[1] "The enemy have not observed the capitulation with respect to our wounded; for instead of sending them to Dinant, they have detained our boats, and have appropriated them to their own use, without any consideration for our poor wounded fellows. The King has informed them that he has ten thousand of their prisoners, whom he will treat with equal severity. He will be compelled to do so by way of reprisals, though such a course is entirely opposite to his nature and usual course of procedure."—*Vide* Dangeau's Memoirs.

they desire their company no longer, and shipping is providing to carry them back to Finale.

We have heard nothing of our Admiral or fleet since they left Palamos the 27th of the last, but advices from all parts say the French are coming, or come, out of Toulon with fifty odd ships of the line, and twenty galleys are to join them from Marseilles, with orders to seek out and fight ours; though this seems next to impossible to be done in so short a time and with so little noise.

(Translation.) Paris, Sept. 16, 1695.

It appears by a letter from ——,[1] General of the Spanish galleys, which was found on a wreck thrown on the coast of Languedoc, that high words passed between Admiral Russell and the Marques de Gastanaga, when dining together. They parted in anger, and the Admiral abruptly quitted the siege of Palamos, under the pretext of obeying the orders which he had received, to watch the armament at Toulon, and to use every precaution to prevent that squadron from putting to sea. We hear also from other quarters that the Prince of Darmstadt, who commands the German troops brought from Finale to Barcelona, is living on very bad terms with the Marques de Gastanaga, by whom he conceives himself thwarted in his endeavours to obtain the Viceroyalty of Catalonia, and that this misunderstanding contributed to the abandonment of the siege of Palamos. I have seen letters from Toulon, which state that, in the confusion caused by the unexpected arrival of Admiral Russell, it would have been easy for him to have burnt the ships there, and great astonishment is ex-

[1] The name is illegible.

pressed that he did not take advantage of the opportunity. There are, however, some long-sighted persons, who assert that they should, on the contrary, have been surprised if he had done so, since it is not the interest, as they say, of King William to destroy the French navy. They suppose that he desires to maintain a fleet which will ensure him the command of the sea against all nations, and that he finds that the best means of inducing the English to grant the necessary supplies is to make France appear formidable to them. They think indeed that this consideration has influenced him on many occasions, and that he would otherwise have inflicted greater injuries upon France. [1]

The campaign has ended badly, and nothing is heard but mutual recriminations. Thus M. de Guiscar finds fault with M. de Megrigny, [2] and even indirectly with M. de Boufflers. The latter and the public censure the Maréchal, and he in his turn throws the blame on the Duke de Maine, whose refusal to act upon the orders which he received from the Maréchal was in truth the cause of their missing the Prince de Vaudemont. [3] The Baron de Berse charges M. de Vauban with ignorance, or jealousy, in having neglected to fortify some parts of the castle which he had pointed out in the presence of the King. [4]

But far from being comforted by these disclosures,

[1] The reasoning of these "long-sighted persons" is sufficiently absurd; but it may be doubted whether Admiral Russell did not miss an opportunity of striking a great blow at Toulon.

[2] M. de Megrigny, the chief engineer at Namur.

[3] The Duke de Maine was the eldest son of Louis XIV., by Madame de Montespan. The occasion referred to was the celebrated retreat of the Prince de Vaudemont, from Arsele to Ghent.

[4] Louis XIV. commanded in person the French army, when Namur was taken in 1692.

his Majesty is the more vexed to find that he has been ill served, as well as misinformed as to the state of the siege.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, Sept. 21, 1695.

To-day the Emperor comes to town to assist at the Te Deum for the taking of Namur, but I fear we shall have occasion for none this year in Hungary, for our affairs are in no very good posture there, the Turks[1] having taken Lippa by assault, which was the chief of our magazines.

We have just now received the ill news that Titul also is taken by assault.

(Translation.) Paris, Sept. 23, 1695.

Maréchal de Boufflers has been released on condition that the prisoners of Dixmude and Deynse should be given up. He arrived at court the day before yesterday, where he was well received. They say that he will be appointed Commander-in-Chief of the army in Flanders in the room of Maréchal de Villeroy, and that, before many days, he will assume the command; orders have, however, been given that the troops should shortly retire into winter-quarters.

(Translation.) Paris, Sept. 30, 1695.

They[2] will, no doubt, be more disposed to peace, if the report of the defeat of the Turkish fleet is fully confirmed.[3] This report has caused much uneasiness,

[1] The Grand Seignor Mustapha commanded the Turkish army in person.

[2] The French ministers.

[3] Alexander Molino succeeded Zeno in the command of the naval

and the more so, as a treaty was in progress both with the Porte and with the Turks on the coast of Africa, by which it was hoped to derive some advantage from their navy, either by uniting forces, or by their giving their assistance to destroy the commerce of the Allies in the Mediterranean.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, Oct. 1, 1695.

As for the news in Hungary, you will find it very bad, and I wish we have not worse still before the campaign is ended, for our army is divided: the horse with the Elector of Saxony has gone towards Transylvania, with the design to join Veterani, and the foot back to Peterwaradin, and I fear neither of them will be able to resist the Turkish army, should they attack them thus separated, so that the whole conquests of the Emperor in Hungary may be in danger to be lost, should either the foot or horse be cut off, which God forbid! Poor Veterani[1] is *extremely lamented*, and with a great deal of reason, for I think the Emperor has lost the best general he had, and the only one among them all that sought his master's service before his own private interests and advantage. Pray, Sir, give me leave to beg you to represent to the King how I am used by the Treasury. That which was due to me last December,

forces of the republic. He attacked the Turkish fleet in the Archipelago. The contest lasted three days, and was of doubtful issue. But although the Venetians could not claim a complete victory, the advantage which they gained in this battle rendered them masters of the sea for the remainder of the campaign of 1695, and for that of the succeeding year 1696.—*Vide* Daru's History of Venice.

[1] General Veterani was killed, and his army defeated by the Turks at Lugos.

and directed by his Majesty, before he left England, to be forthwith paid me, was not ordered by them till the latter end of August, and then in tallies, which are not payable till near three years hence, so that you may easily imagine at what loss, and there is now near three quarters of a year due to me, and all the extraordinaries since I came hither. I need not tell you that the circumstances of a peer in England and an envoy abroad are much the same, for neither will be trusted but with ready money.[1] The place where I am is so very chargeable that I protest before God that in the ten months that I have been here, I have spent very near 20,000 crowns, and I can safely say not one shilling that I could possibly avoid. His Majesty's allowance does not come to quite 2500*l.* a-year, extraordinaries and all, by which you may see I have not spared my own estate, nor hoarded up much in the service, nor do I desire it. I only beg that what his Majesty is pleased to allow me, may be regularly paid; for, if my merchant should withdraw the credit he has given me, I shall not know how to subsist, and may receive some affront for want of money, which his Majesty may be sorry for, and to the discredit of the Kingdom. I beg you to lay this most humbly before his Majesty.

(Translation.) Paris, Oct. 3, 1695.

The garrison of Casal was expected to arrive at Pignerol on the 25th. They were aware, before they heard of the arrest of Maréchal de Boufflers, that it was probable that they might be detained on the same grounds.

The intelligence of some decisive movement in Hun-

[1] Referring to their privilege from arrest.

gary is anxiously expected here: the accounts from thence will probably determine whether this court declares for peace or war.

Orders have been despatched to Toulon to suspend the armament there, and it is even said that the ships in commission are to be paid off, as no hopes are entertained of their eluding the enemy's fleet, which will soon be reinforced by the squadron under Admiral Rooke.[1]

I beg, Sir, to acknowledge the receipt of the letter and the parcel which you have done me the honour to send me. I am overpowered by your kindness, and look with anxiety for an opportunity of proving that I am worthy of such favours.

(Translation.) Paris, Oct. 7, 1695.

It is stated, in letters from Italy, that the terms on which Casal was surrendered have been duly executed, and the hostages have been given up.

We are also informed that the Allies have held a council of war, and it is believed that they have resolved to defer active operations until the spring.

It is further reported that the Duke of Savoy has demanded the government of the Milanese for life, but the King of Spain will not grant it.

They write from Fontainebleau that the Court is encouraged to continue the war by the success of the Turks in Hungary, and the discovery that the report of a victory gained by the Venetians is unfounded.

I am assured that they still hope to retake Namur before the opening of the next campaign. Forced en-

[1] Sir George Rooke succeeded Admiral Russell in the command of the fleet in the Mediterranean.

rolments are already commenced here, and this business is conducted in so shameful a manner, that they have been obliged to imprison three of these traffickers in human flesh for seizing some young men of rank, and throwing them into an oven.

Lord Galway to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Camp of Rivalta, $\frac{\text{Sept. } 29}{\text{Oct. } 9}$, 1695.*

I am forced to confess that it is difficult to understand the conduct of this Prince,[1] which is very extraordinary. A few days since, he spoke openly with the Marques de Leganes;[2] he assured him that he was as firmly attached to the League as ever, and complained of the injustice of our suspecting him of treachery to his allies. He spoke to me also on the same subject in more general terms. The Marquis de St. Thomas,[3] moreover, sought an intercourse with me, apparently by his orders; and gave me such positive assurances, that I really believe he has convinced me that there is nothing to fear, and that the Duke's dissatisfaction with Prince Eugene has been the cause of all that has passed. The good understanding, moreover, which has existed between Prince Eugene, the Marques de Leganes, and myself, has induced him to believe that we have done many things in concert and designedly to thwart him, and this has annoyed him.

[1] The Duke of Savoy.

[2] The Marques de Leganes, Viceroy of Milan, and Commander-in-chief of the Spanish forces in Italy and Piedmont.

[3] The Marquis de St. Thomas was the Duke of Savoy's principal minister, and his chief agent in conducting the secret negotiation with France.

(Translation.) Paris, Oct. 10, 1695.

We are unable to discover where M. de Callières has concealed himself since his last disappearance.

He is, however, probably in Holland; and, no doubt, it is from him that this Court has received the intelligence that the reduction of Namur has caused a great change of opinion in that quarter. One of the Ministers, speaking confidentially to a friend on this subject, stated that the manner in which the proposals of the King were received was insolent in the extreme.

If I am not mistaken, this is the time for the Allies (if they really desire peace) to obtain it on reasonable terms, notwithstanding the apparent arrogance of France.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, Oct. 15, 1695.

I must acquaint you that Count Chinski informed me, the other day, that the Emperor had given orders to his Minister[1] in Swedeland to receive no more papers from Count d'Avaux, or anybody else, where his Majesty shall be styled Prince of Orange, and desired that the King would give the same orders to the Baron d'Heckeren[2] and Mr. Robinson, that they may act in concert.

(Translation.) Paris, Oct. 17, 1695.

The good faith with which each party has fulfilled the conditions of the capitulation of Casal, and the kind treatment of the hostages on both sides, have established on that frontier so much intercourse and traffic, that it very nearly resembles a truce.

[1] Comte Staremberg the younger.
[2] The Envoy of the United Provinces at Stockholm.

It has been observed that the privateers, being small vessels, and separated from each other, are either captured, or, fearing to attack the enemy's ships, which are in general armed or under convoy, fall upon the neutrals, who bitterly complain in consequence. They, therefore, intend for the future to send to sea squadrons strong enough to attack the enemy's convoys, and to take whole fleets of their merchantmen, which are of great value and not reclaimable. The King, for this purpose, will give the hulls of the vessels to private individuals, who, being encouraged by the success of the Marquis de Nesmond,[1] will fit them out as privateers, and obtain a tenfold return for the money embarked in the enterprise.

Mr. Stepney to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Thursday night, Oct. $\frac{10}{20}$, 1695.

I saw your Sovereign on board yesterday by ten in the morning, and I make no doubt but the fair wind and weather he has had since may have brought him to London by this time, and methinks I see the mob of Southwark huzzaing after his coach. The first news we are to expect from thence are of writs being issued out for calling a new Parliament, which I hope will make good the proverb we have of new brooms. I moved for leave to make another trip for England, but having no other mother to die in good season,[2] I am thrown here like a fish upon the shore, and shall

[1] M. de Nesmond, a bold and successful officer. He was the brother of Henri de Nesmond, who was subsequently raised to the archbishopric of Toulouse.

[2] Mr. Stepney's mother had died the preceding year, and he had obtained leave of absence on that ground.

not be fetched off till another tide serves this time twelve months. I must confess to you, my Lord, it went to my heart to see everybody launch off, and myself left in the lurch, like Moses, almost in sight of the promised land.

Mr. Ellis to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Oct. 11, 1695.

The King landed yesterday, at ten in the morning, at Margate, in good health; lay at Canterbury, and came through the town to Kensington, through fire and smoke, illuminations, and discharges of great and small guns, about eight at night.[1]

(Translation.) Paris, Oct. 21, 1695.

The small property left by the Comte de Soissons in France has been confiscated, as well as his pension. His sisters,[2] however, have obtained an allowance of 12,000 livres a year for their maintenance.

M. de Callières is returned. This last expedition proved as fruitless as the preceding; indeed, he has lost rather than gained ground.

The capture of Namur has produced the effect which might have been expected. France had offered to give up that place. It is, however, no longer in her possession, and an equivalent is now demanded by the Allies; this her pride has not permitted her to grant.

It is still hoped that some resolution may be taken in the Empire in favour of the ninth Electorate, in

[1] The reduction of Namur in the presence of a powerful French army cast unwonted lustre on the arms of William III., and invested him with a temporary popularity.

[2] Mesdemoiselles de Soissons and de Carignan.

which case France confidently reckons on Denmark. She is far from being on such bad terms with this power as the public erroneously suppose.[1]

(Translation.) Paris, Oct. 24, 1695.

The Maréchal de Lorges has had a fit of apoplexy, which will delay his return. Madame la Maréchale started to join him as soon as she received the intelligence. It is doubtful whether the health of the Maréchal will allow him to resume his command next season.[2] The Señor de la Roque, the author, who was arrested some time since on the charge of having written sarcastic lampoons, which were printed in Holland, has been removed to the Château d'Angers—a sure sign that his imprisonment will be a long one, and perhaps for life. They have seized at Sedan a Protestant minister, recently arrived there from abroad, and a dozen new converts,[3] who were engaged with him in the exercise of their former religion. It is stated that more than thirty Protestant clergymen have left Holland with the intention of returning to France. This information has excited apprehension with regard to the new converts.

[1] Ernest Augustus, Duke of Hanover or Calemberg, was invested with the electoral dignity in 1692. But many of the Princes of the Empire protested against the establishment of the new electorate; and the Emperor was compelled to suspend the operation of the investiture until it should receive the assent of the States.

Denmark took an active part in the dispute, and was in close alliance with "the Corresponding Princes," which was the name given to the league formed by the Princes who opposed the investiture of the new Elector. The question was not finally settled until 1708, when the Duke of Hanover was formally admitted into the Electoral College.

[2] Maréchal de Lorges recovered, but was succeeded in the command of the French army on the Rhine by Maréchal de Choiseul.

[3] "Nouveaux Convertis," the term applied to the Protestants who were induced by terror, nominally at least, to change their religion.

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, Oct. 28, 1695, N. S.

The season of action being now over, as well by sea as land, and most of our ships unable to stay out any longer, Admiral Russell sailed from Cadiz Bay for England the 12th inst., with twenty English and ten Dutch men-of-war. Eight more of the latter have since followed him, and there remained still twenty-five of both nations under command of Rear-Admiral Mitchell[1] —a force sufficient now the French fleet is disarmed at Toulon, whether Sir George come with his squadron or not, which seems something doubtful.

(Translation.) Paris, Nov. 4, 1695.

The day before yesterday the King went to Marly, and does not return to Versailles before the 13th. The Marquis de Crenan has been placed on the list of those whom his Majesty allows to repair thither during his stay, which is a high favour.

The officers of the garrison of Casal, who returned with the Marquis, have told us many things of which we were before ignorant, and have explained others which had been erroneously reported.

They speak highly of Lord Galway, and of all the French who were in the allied army, with the exception of two or three, among whom is St. Coulon the engineer.

They say that of these Frenchmen quite as many

[1] Admiral Mitchell was pressed into the naval service as a boy, and rose by merit alone, from being a common seaman to high rank in the navy. It is said that Admiral Russell was in a great measure indebted to Sir David Mitchell for his knowledge of navigation and naval affairs.

are Catholics as Protestants, and that deserters were continually coming in from the army of M. de Catinat, which was suffering greatly in the mountains.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Althorp,[1] Oct. 25, 1695.

I don't find anything particular to acquaint your Lordship with; you know, without telling it, that the King is every day seven or eight hours on horseback, and the weather has been so fair and pleasant to allow of it. Your Lordship does not doubt but the King is treated here with all the splendour and order that can be imagined. He came hither last Monday, and goes away the next; then he will make two days to Lincoln, for the conveniency of seeing my Lord Exeter's house by Stamford, and on Wednesday he will be at Welbeck, where the Duke of Newcastle[2] entertains him to the Monday following. His Majesty, on his return from

[1] Althorp, the seat of Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland. Although Lord Sunderland was excepted from the act of indemnity which passed in 1689, the King frequently sought his advice in private; but he had not hitherto ventured to call openly to his councils a statesman who was alike, and with justice, distrusted and feared, by both the great parties in the state. The royal visit to Althorp was the first public mark of the favour enjoyed by the Earl, whose influence with the King from that time rapidly increased. In 1697 he succeeded the Earl of Dorset as Lord Chamberlain; and for a few months held office as one of the Principal Ministers of the Crown. The character and career of this most accomplished traitor are thus tersely described by Sir James Mackintosh:—

"The most unprincipled, the most adroit, and perhaps the most able of that compound class of minister, half statesman, half intriguer, he signally failed; and neither his reascent" (during the reign of William) "nor useful services have rescued his name from contempt. It is an apparent, not a real inconsistency in his character that he was in theory a republican."

[2] John Holles, Earl of Clare, married one of the co-heiresses of Henry Cavendish, last Duke of Newcastle of that name, and was in 1694 himself created Duke of Newcastle.

thence, lies at my Lord Stamford's[1] in Leicestershire; on Tuesday at my Lord Brooke's at Warwick; on Wednesday he dines with my Lord Duke of Shrewsbury at his little house at Eyford, and lies that night at Burford, or Sir Ralph Dutton's.[2] I think it is uncertain how many days' stay he may make there, but he has accepted of the University's invitation to take Oxford in his way to Windsor. His Majesty dined yesterday with the Earl of Northampton at Castle Ashby, and was very well pleased with the place,[3] the chase about the house and gardens being extraordinary. They hunted a hind, and might have had more sport, but that the country people broke in upon it, and were got together above 5000 of them. On Saturday the King dines with my Lord Montague[4] at Boughton, and I hear my Lord Sunderland goes thither with him. Upon my Lord Strafford's[5] death, I hear the pretenders to the Garter, among our English nobility, are the Duke of Bolton[6] and the Duke of Newcastle; but I hear it is reserved for the Duke of Gloucester.

[1] Thomas Grey, Earl of Stamford, was with Lord Delamere committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason in 1685. Lord Delamere, however, was acquitted, and Lord Stamford pardoned in 1686.

Lord Stamford took an active part in the Revolution in favour of William.

[2] Sir Ralph Dutton, M.P. for Gloucestershire.

[3] Mackay states that the Earl of Northampton was celebrated for entertaining his friends well.

[4] Ralph, Lord Montague, afterwards created Duke of Montague.

[5] William Wentworth, son of the celebrated Earl of Strafford. On his death the earldom became extinct; but the Barony of Raby devolved upon his cousin and male heir, Thomas Wentworth, afterwards created Earl of Strafford, who was impeached in 1715, for his share in the negotiations for the peace of Utrecht.

[6] Charles Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, was created in 1689 Duke of Bolton. He was naturally very eccentric; and it is said that he counterfeited madness as a security in dangerous times. In 1687 he travelled through England with a retinue of four coaches and a hundred horsemen, sleeping during the day, hunting and hawking by torchlight,

Mr. Yard[1] *to Lord Lexington.*

Whitehall, Nov. 5, 1695.

The Duke of Newcastle has entertained the King at Welbeck with great magnificence, having kept open house all the time his Majesty was there, and tables being spread for all comers. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of York attended the King there last Saturday, and being introduced by the Duke of Newcastle, they kissed the King's hand, and the Recorder made a speech; after which his Majesty knighted the Lord Mayor, who is now Sir Gilbert Metcalfe. The same day the Archbishop of York[2] waited upon the King with his clergy, and made a very handsome speech, congratulating his Majesty's success and safe return, and acknowledging his care of the Church, having showed himself truly the Defender of the Faith, and assuring his Majesty of their fidelity and loyalty, and recommending themselves to his protection, which his Majesty assured them of, and all other demonstrations of his grace and favour. On Sunday, after sermon (which was preached by the Archbishop of York), the King

and giving splendid entertainments in the night.—*Vide* Mackintosh's History of the Revolution.

[1] Mr. Yard was chief clerk in the office of the Duke of Shrewsbury. During the absence of Mr. Vernon, who was at this time in attendance upon the King, he acted as Under Secretary of State, to which office he was himself subsequently promoted.

[2] Dr. Sharp was appointed Archbishop of York in 1690. Speaker Onslow says, in a note to Burnet's 'History of his Own Times,' that the prelate used to say that the Bible and Shakespeare had made him Archbishop of York.

In 1686, Dr. Sharp preached a sermon against Popery, which gave great offence to the Court. Lord Sunderland, in the King's name, required the Bishop of London (Compton) to suspend the preacher. The Bishop declined, on the ground of his not possessing the power, and was himself suspended by the King, for alleged contempt of the royal mandate. Dr. Sharp escaped with a slight reprimand.

went from Welbeck to the Earl of Stamford's at Broadgate; yesterday his Majesty was at my Lord Brooke's at Warwick, and this day he intended to be at Burford, where his Majesty will stay till Saturday, and then go by Oxford to Windsor; and on Monday next his Majesty will return to Kensington. Yesterday came in letters from Dublin of the 29th post, which gave an account that on the 25th the Lord Chancellor Porter came (with leave of the Lords) to the House of Commons, and being admitted, he made a speech to them, showing his innocence as to the Articles exhibited against him; and being withdrawn, and what he had said in his own vindication considered, it was, after some debate, resolved upon the question, that what he had said was satisfactory to the House, without any proof, and that the Articles exhibited against him should be rejected, and the witnesses that were summoned in to prove them discharged.[1] The same evening the Lord Chancellor and the Speaker of the House of Commons[2] happened to have a rencounter in the street, of which the former having informed the Lords the next day, their Lordships desired a conference with the Commons, and acquainted them that the Lord Chancellor, going home in his coach the night before, as he endeavoured in a broad street to go by a coach, in which was the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Speaker called out to the Lord Chancellor's coachman to stop his coach, and afterwards alighted himself and

[1] The Lord-Deputy of Ireland, Lord Capel, favoured the English, while Sir Charles Porter, the Chancellor, studied to protect the Irish. The Lord-Deputy's party set on foot the impeachment of the Chancellor, but on grounds so frivolous that he was cleared by a large majority.—*Vide* Tindal's History.

[2] Robert Rochfort, Attorney-General for Ireland, was elected Speaker on the 29th August, 1695.

stopped the Lord Chancellor's horses, and so went on in his coach before him, and that their Lordships did not doubt but the Commons would do them justice in this matter, wherein they were so highly affronted in the person of their Speaker. The Commons answered hereunto on other conference, that the said rencounter was perfectly accidental; that their Speaker did not know whose coach it was he stopped, and that he alighted out of his own coach for fear of being overturned, without any design of offering an affront to the Lord Chancellor; and with this excuse the Lords rested satisfied.

Mr. Cartwright to Lord Lexington.

No date, but before Nov. 18, 1695.

I have now been ill above a week, otherwise had given you an account of his Majesty's progress in Nottinghamshire before this. On Wednesday the 30th of the last month, his Majesty came from Lincoln over at Dunham Ferry, where all the gentry of the county met him and attended him to Welbeck, where supper was provided for all that would stay. The next day he hare-hunted with his own beagles in Bethlemfall fields; at least four hundred horse were in the fields, and about three o'clock went to Welbeck to dinner, where everybody that would were handsomely entertained. On Friday he hunted stag in Birkland with my Lord Kingston's[1] hounds, and very finely killed one, with which his Majesty was so well pleased that at my Lord Kingston's table (where that day the company were

[1] Evelyn Pierrepoint, Earl of Kingston, created in 1706 Marquis of Dorchester.

most splendidly entertained) he said he would increase the keeper's fees, so as to make it worth a man's business to attend it; that he would have all the pits filled, and roots grubbed up, and if possible would rent a house for a summer hunting-seat for himself, with a great deal more commendation of Nottinghamshire.[1] He went and saw Rufford,[2] and in the evening went to Welbeck, hunted hare next day with the fleet hounds, and on Sunday, after dinner, went away to my Lord Stamford's, and so forward. I got, as many others did for want of lodging, and being out late at nights, and with a little too much drink, a severe surfeit, under which I yet languish, but am got into the garden a little when the sun shines.

Mr. Yard to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Nov. 8, 1695.

The King has been at Burford since Tuesday evening. The town presented his Majesty with two hunting saddles, according to custom. This day his Majesty hunts on Woodstock side, and lies there[3] this night for the conveniency of being the earlier at Oxford

[1] A great portion of Sherwood Forest belonged to the Crown.

[2] Rufford, the seat of the Marquis of Halifax, now the property of the Earl of Scarborough.

[3] The King found at Woodstock an old gentleman of the name of Cary, who occupied the royal residence there. Mr. Cary was nearly one hundred years old. He had served in succession James I., Charles I., Oliver Cromwell, Charles II., and James II., and now held the same office under William III.

This ancient servant of many masters pointed out to the King the pictures of all his former patrons, saying of each in his turn, that he had been his very good master, and concluded the exhibition with the polite remark, "So is now your Majesty, for whose picture there is still room." But it does not appear that the request thus modestly preferred was granted by William.—*Vide* Tindal's History.

to-morrow, where his Majesty will make but a short stay to receive the compliments of the University at the theatre, intending to lie at Windsor to-morrow night, and to stay there till Monday.[1]

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, Nov. $\frac{14}{24}$, 1695.

I acquainted you in a former the manner of Mons. Schonenberg's[2] being turned out of this court by two Alcaldes, which our King and the States have resented so much as to demand his being readmitted to

[1] This letter would throw some doubt upon the story, hitherto currently believed, that William refused to partake of the banquet prepared for him at Oxford, and abruptly retired to Windsor, because an anonymous letter was found in the street, imparting a design to poison him. There is, indeed, no reason to doubt that such a paper was discovered and shown to the King by the Duke of Ormond, the Chancellor of the University; and it is equally clear that the collation was offered and refused. But William was not easily alarmed for his personal safety; and it will be remarked that in Mr. Yard's letter, which was written the day before the King arrived at Oxford, no mention is made of his intending to dine there during a visit, which was necessarily hurried, because he had previously determined on proceeding to Windsor the same day. It is probable therefore that the King declined the collation because it would have interfered with his proposed journey to Windsor, and that, disregarding alike the anonymous threat, and the disappointment of the University, he remained at Oxford as long as he had intended, and proceeded to Windsor at the time originally fixed.

[2] Mr. Schonenberg or Belmont was a Jew; but he was a native of Antwerp, and was therefore a Spanish subject. In 1679 he was sent by the Prince of Orange to Madrid, to solicit the payment of subsidies which were in arrear, and on the death of the accredited Envoy of Holland at the court of Spain, M. Schonenberg was appointed to succeed him.

It would appear that he had on more than one occasion given great offence to the Spanish ministers; but the immediate cause of his dismissal from Madrid was the protection which he extended to two brothers of the name of Moll, Dutch merchants, who had been guilty of swindling in Spain, and who, as he asserted, were privileged from arrest, because he employed one of them as his secretary.

his Ministry, for which I delivered a memorial by his Majesty's command, and the States wrote a letter to his Catholic Majesty of the same tenor, intimating that if it be not complied with, the Spanish Ministers in England and Holland shall be treated in the same manner.

They have given me a negative answer in writing full of criminations against M. Schonenberg, and tell me they have answered the States to the same purpose. I sent an express with their answer to me ten days ago to England, and till our King's further pleasure be known M. Schonenberg remains at a convent three leagues out of town. I hope some expedient will be found to accommodate the matter, though I cannot yet see how, both sides seeming very resolute.

(Translation.) Paris, Nov. 25, 1695.

They refuse here to grant passports to the Venetian Ambassadors; they say that they may have these passports as Venetian gentlemen, but not as Ambassadors.[1] The Minister of the Republic here has had frequent disputes on this subject with M. de Croissy. The former assures M. de Croissy that Venice is prepared to undertake the mediation so long desired by France. The latter demands with bitterness what justice is to be expected from a mediator who commences by a display of partiality on the most important point in the treaty to be discussed.[2]

[1] Their destination was England, and their mission was the acknowledgment of the King of England.

[2] The recognition of William III.

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Nov. $\frac{25}{15}$, 1695.

I believe I have merit on my side, because you take such care of me. My modesty is very much seen by my not having troubled you these two months, and, for my luck, I shall send you word of it in a post or two, as indeed I thought to have done sooner, which was the occasion of my not writing till I might tell you who I am or what I pretend to, for at present I stand like Socia in Amphitryon, and hardly know if I am myself or no; that is, in plainer English, the King has ordered my stay here, and for it I must have a new privy seal, which is not to be gotten till hunting and horse-races get out of people's heads, and they remember that Mr. Stepney waits here his orders for the Rhine, and Mr. Prior his appointments at the Hague; in the mean time these two sieurs walk as gravely all day as if they had business, though the chief of that business is to drink your health at night. Then comes my Lady and cross-legged cousin Davers, and at last my young Master Sutton, who we hope will arrive at Vienna before Count Frizen, and of whom we talk as much as if we had known him these twenty years, and had been drunk with him as many times. It may be a girl after all this; no matter, 't is but nine months more, and the young gentleman before mentioned may see the Emperor before the Count sees his sovereign Elector.

By next post I shall answer my Lady; in the mean time I must beg your Lordship to desire her pardon, since if I deferred my correspondence for some time, it was whilst I did not know if I was fairly an Abraham or

no, and there were many things which one Secretary might write to another with which Matthew Prior durst by no means trouble my Lady Lexington. Adieu, my dear Lord.

Lord Villiers to Lord Lexington.

Nov. 25, 1695.

Count Kaunitz, who is now at Brussels about the ninth Electorate, a little before he went thither complained to me of the usage the Papists have met with in the Parliament of Ireland. I am to assure him that it is not upon the account of their religion, and that the King would never persecute any for religion's sake:[1] I fear if our enemies know we have such bigot allies they will tamper with them about a peace. If anything of that kind happens where you are, I hope you will do me the favour to let me know it.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Nov. 22, 1695.

I shall not omit sending your Lordship some account of our affairs in Parliament, since I understand it will be agreeable to you; and I shall be able to do it a little more authentically than last year, since it happens I am now in the House of Commons, and need not take up things upon trust and by hearsay.[2] What

[1] There is every reason to believe that William III. was himself naturally averse to religious persecution; but he was stern, severe, and careless of human suffering when a political object was to be gained, and the Roman Catholics in Ireland, who were, as might be expected, Jacobites to a man, were treated with great severity.

[2] The King had been advised to call a new Parliament, while the recollection of the recent successes in Flanders was yet fresh in the minds of the electors. Mr. Vernon was chosen for Penryn.

has offered this day is only the choice of a Speaker, or rather the accepting of one proposed by his Majesty's order;[1] whereas otherwise there might have been a competition between Mr. Foley and Sir Thomas Littleton, and the House might be again divided in a matter and at a time in both which it ought principally to be avoided. The former, having been so lately in the chair, and acquitting himself so well there, deserved to be continued; the other having been once thought worthy of it, was now acquainted that his Majesty had the same good opinion of him, and that he assured him he should elsewhere employ him;[2] to which he respectfully submitted, and desisted from any further pretensions; and that his friends might do so too, he chose rather to absent himself this day, though I think there would have been otherwise a general acquiescence in his Majesty's pleasure, and I hope it will last throughout the session.

Mr. Foley, according to custom, excused himself, but so as to acknowledge the honour done him, and expressed so much the greater satisfaction in it, as he presumed it partly proceeded from their acceptance of his former endeavours to discharge that trust.

The King has deferred making his speech till the Speaker be presented.

[1] This is a curious expression, and would imply that the King really did desire to revive the claims of the Crown to choose the Speaker of the House of Commons, and that the alarm caused by the nomination of Sir Thomas Littleton, in the preceding session, was well founded; but it would appear from the accompanying circumstances of this case, that the King's wish was to prevent a renewal of the contest between the candidate whose pretensions he had formerly favoured and Mr. Foley, whom the House of Commons had chosen in opposition to his wishes, and who had already served the office of Speaker with general approbation.

[2] In May, 1696, Sir Thomas Littleton was appointed a Lord of the Treasury, and in 1698 he was elected Speaker.

(Translation.) Paris, Dec. 2, 1695.

It does not appear that any negotiations for peace are at present in progress. France is persuaded that, in the existing state of affairs, it is very unlikely that she should obtain such a peace as she desires. They therefore think less of treating than of causing dissensions among the Allies, and, unless I am mistaken, they have greater hopes than ever of succeeding in Germany,[1] where they know that some Princes are already prepared to create a disturbance, and, indeed, only wait a favourable opportunity for doing so. They are endeavouring to set them in motion, and to engage in their interest the Crowns of the North.

(Translation.) Paris, Dec. 5, 1695.

The new converts, who were discovered some time since in the exercise of their worship and imprisoned at Sedan, have been released, excepting the minister, and it is not known what is become of him. The King of Portugal is solicited to take steps to interpose his mediation. This Prince is less distrusted by France than any of those who could engage in this affair. It is thought that an inclination towards the Allies may be detected in the others, or, at least, that they show a dislike to favour the pretensions of France.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Nov. 29, 1695.

The debate this day went on much calmer than it has used to do when the state of the nation was under

[1] The history of Germany at this period affords abundant proof that the French King was justified in entertaining these hopes.

consideration. Everybody seemed sensible that the mischiefs we laboured under were so pressing that their thoughts ought to be turned rather to apply a remedy than find fault. That which they generally agreed on was, that if the money were not mended, the trade of the nation must be lost, since it would be otherwise carried on to so great disadvantage; and if the balance of trade were not rectified, it would be to no purpose to mind the money, since it must be all drained to pay the debts due to an over-balance. The difficulties in mending the coin are observed to be these: that, besides the want of bullion to supply the species, if the public bear the loss of clipt money, then, whatever is yet entire will be clipt; and if every man is to bear his own loss by clipt money, it must create an universal discontent and cause endless disputes between the borrower and lender, upon whom the loss shall fall. This, therefore, being the case, it is not to be wondered they could not come to a conclusion in one day, but took up with an opinion about a free entry for things sent to supply the army, which is, I think, of no great significancy as it stands alone, more than that it shows a disposition to lay hold on all means to prevent or lessen the ruinous exportation of our coin.[1] Your Lordship,

[1] The silver currency of the kingdom was estimated at 5,600,000*l*., of which it was supposed that 4,000,000*l*. was clipped, or otherwise deteriorated. The danger to be apprehended from a continuance of this state of things was admitted by all; but great difference of opinion existed as to the proper remedy to be applied. Mr. Lowndes, the Secretary of the Treasury, suggested that the standard should be altered, and the silver coin raised above its intrinsic value. Mr. Locke, however, who, with Sir Isaac Newton, was consulted by the Government on this occasion, answered Mr. Lowndes' pamphlet, and condemned his proposal as "a fraud upon all creditors," and "the means of confounding the property of the subject, and disturbing affairs to no purpose." The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Montague, at length

I don't doubt, has heard from Holland what message was sent to Don Bernardo de Quiros, [1] to forbid his presenting any memorial till satisfaction were given in the business of M. Schonenberg; and Sir Charles Cotterell has directions to signify the like to the Spanish Ambassador here, which, I suppose, he will do to-morrow morning. My Lord George Hamilton [2] was married on Monday last to Mrs. Villiers, and they say her sister Frances Villiers is to be married to my Lord Cassilis.

They talk that Col. Howe is married to Mrs. Rupert, Prince Rupert's daughter.

Mr. Greg to Lord Lexington.

Copenhagen, Dec. 6, 1695.

On Thursday last Princess Louisa [3] made her entry here with great solemnity; being conducted from a tent, where the Prince [4] received her a quarter of a mile out of town, by almost all the principal officers of the kingdom, both civil and military, who appeared with the best equipage they could upon this occasion; their led horses and coaches went before, but they themselves followed on horseback, together with the Prince,

persuaded Parliament to pass an act by which the clipped coin was called in and recoined, and the deficiency borne by the public: 1,200,000*l.* was voted to meet this deficiency, and was raised by the imposition of a tax on windows. The real loss, however, amounted to 2,400,000*l.*, more than 50 per cent. on the whole of the coin called in.

[1] Spanish minister at the Hague.

[2] Younger brother of the Duke of Hamilton, and of the Earl of Selkirk. He was in January, 1696, created Earl of Orkney, ostensibly for military services in Ireland and Flanders; but it is probable that his marriage was in some degree, at least, the cause of his promotion.

[3] Princess Louisa of Mecklenburgh Gustraw.

[4] Prince Frederic, afterwards Frederic IV., King of Denmark.

who rode immediately before his mistress's coach, and so brought her through the city into the castle, where the King and Queen received her at the foot of the stairs, in the very court, and brought her up to the Queen's bed-chamber, from whence, after having retired herself for some time into the Prince's apartment, she was conducted into the justice-chamber, where the highest court is usually kept, the King himself presiding. There the marriage was performed, after which the whole royal family supped in state in the same place, being served by the principal persons of the kingdom of both sexes.

The second day the burghers, who had been in arms the day before to line the streets through which the Princess passed, to the number of between four and five thousand men, did all pass by the castle, by companies, to show themselves to the King. At night there were fireworks and very pretty illuminations, the latter of which made a very great show upon the water just opposite to one side of the castle.

Lord Galway to Lord Lexington.

Turin, Dec. 24, 1695.

The Nuncio has spoken in favour of peace at this Court, and has delivered to his Royal Highness[1] a Papal brief recommending it to that Prince, who has replied that he will take the same steps in this matter as the rest of the Allies. He has done me the honour to inform me that he will send copies of this brief to London, Vienna, and Madrid. I suppose that the Nuncio at Vienna will take a similar course.

[1] The Duke of Savoy.

(Translation.) Paris, Dec. 26, 1695.

The Marquis de Seneterre, who was imprisoned nineteen years for the murder of his elder brother, is again implicated in a troublesome affair; having been engaged in a conflict which they wish to pass off as a duel of three against three,[1] in which two mousquetaires of the opposite party were killed; the third, who was a "Prévôt de Salle,"[2] was immediately captured. The Marquis, with his companions, have had the good fortune to escape.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Dec. 17, 1695.

I send you an abstract of the Commission that passed the Great Seal this morning, constituting the New Committee of Trade, wherein are the names of the persons and the powers that are given them. I suppose we shall hear on Friday if the House of Commons take any exceptions at either.[3]

[1] In the original, "un duel de trois."

[2] In contests of this nature it was not unusual to retain a "Prévôt de Salle" to act as umpire between the combatants; but these professors of fencing were also frequently engaged to take a personal share in the conflict, as appears to have been the case in this instance:

[3] The King was exceedingly averse to the establishment of this committee or council, which he regarded as an encroachment on the prerogative of the Crown; but his chief adviser, Lord Sunderland, was afraid of resistance, and William was forced to submit.

The powers of the Council of Trade were extensive, and their duties were of a very varied character. They were directed to inquire into all matters connected with the manufactures and trade of the kingdom; the colonies or plantations also were committed to their charge; and they were to consider in what way the poor might be set to work, and made useful to the public. Each of these three branches now affords at least sufficient employment for a separate department of the Government.

The Earls of Bridgewater and Stamford were placed at the head of this council, of which John Locke was a member.

By the King's answer this evening to the address of the two Houses against the Scotch Act,[1] it looks as if there were like to be a change of the Ministry in that

[1] An Act for the establishment of a Scotch India Company. The people of Scotland expected the greatest benefits from this scheme, which was started by Patterson; and they were highly exasperated by the hostile and illiberal spirit with which it was received in England. Indeed the contest, which was long protracted, and terminated only with the extinction of the colony, nearly gave rise to a civil war.

But although the English opposition to the scheme was both impolitic and unjust, there can be no doubt that the Act of the Scottish Parliament, by which the establishment of this Company was sanctioned, was in some respects highly objectionable. Among the privileges which it conferred on the Company was an entire immunity for their members, officers, servants, ships, and merchandise from all taxes imposed, *or to be imposed*, by Parliament for twenty-one years. William therefore was justified in the answer which he returned to the address referred to by Mr. Vernon, in which he stated that "he had been ill served in Scotland, but hoped that some remedies might be found to prevent the inconveniences which might arise from the Act." I cannot refrain from here inserting an extract from Dalrymple's 'Essay on the Darien Company,' the history of which is rendered peculiarly interesting by passing events.

Dalrymple laments the fate of the Darien scheme, and blames the conduct of the British Government with regard to it. He proceeds to say, that "If neither Britain singly nor the maritime parts of Europe jointly will treat with Spain for a passage across Darien, it requires no great gift of prophecy to foresee that the period is not far distant, when, in order to procure the precious metals at once, instead of waiting for them by the slow returns of trade, the States of America, who are able to defy the fleets of England, and the armies of England and Germany, will seize the pass of Darien, and with ease, by violence from Spain. Their next move will be to take possession of the Sandwich Islands in the South Sea." He then states that "with these acquisitions the English Americans will form not only the most potent but the most singular empire that ever appeared, because it will consist not in the dominion of a part of the land of the globe, but in the dominion of the whole ocean." He concludes by saying that "these prospects should call the attention of the maritime nations of Europe to the importance of laying open the passage of Darien to all nations, instead of leaving it exposed to be seized and to become the property of that people who lie nearest to it;" but that "if the States of America should, from the supineness of rulers and ministers, seize and make the passage of Darien their exclusive property, the trading nations of the world would combine to wrest it from them."

kingdom; and they talk already of my Lord Melville's coming again into play.[1]

Lord Lexington to Sir William Trumbull.

Vienna, Jan. 4, 1696.

The Envoy of Sweden desired, yesterday, that Mr. Heemskerck and myself would use our offices at this court, that the Emperor would interpose his authority and interest with Denmark about the affair of Holstein, for fear there should be any disturbances in the Lower Saxony, which we will do, and had before spoke of it.[2] I am informed, but I hope 'tis only the fears of

[1] Both Lord Stair and Mr. Johnstone, the joint Secretaries of State, as well as Lord Tweeddale, were dismissed from their offices; but Lord Murray, the eldest son of the Duke of Athol, and not Lord Melville, was appointed Secretary of State. It is probable that the Massacre of Glencoe, which had formed the subject of a strict inquiry during the past session of the Parliament in Scotland, increased the dissatisfaction of the King with his ministers in that country.

[2] About the year 1600, Christian IV. of Denmark gave a moiety of the Duchies of Holstein and Sleswick to his brother Ulric, from whom were descended the Dukes of Holstein Gottorp, Eutin, Ploen, &c. The Kings of Denmark and the Dukes of Holstein exercised a divided sovereignty over the duchies, and constant disputes were the result of this arrangement.

Christian Albert, Duke of Holstein Gottorp, was inclined to the French interest; and his death in January, 1695, alone prevented the conclusion of a treaty of neutrality with France; but Frederic, who succeeded to the duchy on the death of his father, joined the Allies, and engaged to raise three regiments to serve against France. The King of Denmark, who himself preserved a neutrality, but received an annual subsidy from France, seized the opportunity of the death of Duke Christian to revive a claim of sovereignty over the Duchy of Sleswick, as well as of Holstein, and especially insisted that the Duke of Holstein, as his vassal, was not entitled to levy troops without his permission. The King of Sweden on this as on previous occasions espoused the cause of the Duke. His Allies, the Elector of Brandenburgh, and the Dukes of Zell and Hanover, prepared to support him, and a war between the Northern Powers appeared imminent; but the dispute was at length adjusted, after very lengthened negotiations, by the interposition of the Emperor, of

the House of Lunenburgh, that there have been propositions made lately from France either to the Elector of Saxony himself or to Schoning, and if he hearkened to them, Saxe Lauenburgh would be the pretence of disturbance.[1] I hope, I say, 'tis only the fears of the House of Lunenburgh, but 'tis good to have an eye

William, and of the Electors of Brandenburgh and Saxony.

Frederick, Duke of Holstein Gottorp, married the eldest sister of Charles XII. of Sweden. On the death, however, of that monarch, the States of Sweden elected his younger sister, Ulrica Eleanora, the Landgravine of Hesse, Queen. This Princess died without issue in 1741, and the crown of Sweden would then have devolved on her grand-nephew, Peter, Duke of Holstein Gottorp, afterwards Peter III. of Russia, but his aunt, the Empress Elizabeth, declared him her heir. He relinquished the throne of Sweden for the reversion to that of Russia; and the Duke of Holstein Eutin, Bishop of Lubeck, was chosen King of Sweden.

[1] Jules Francis, last Duke of Saxe Lauenburgh, died without male issue in 1689, and the succession to his estates was the subject of a violent contest, in which almost every Prince of the North took part. The deceased Duke had signed a mutual treaty of succession with the Elector of Saxony in 1671, and in virtue of this treaty the Elector immediately took possession of the whole of the territories. But the validity of this compact was disputed, and the Princes of Anhalt asserted their claims to the succession, on the ground that they were descended from the same branch as Saxe Lauenburgh, while the Dukes of Zell and Hanover contended that they were the nearest heirs, and seized Radzeburgh, Mollen, and Lauenburgh.

The King of Sweden supported the pretensions of the House of Lunenburgh; the Emperor, the King of Denmark, and the Elector of Brandenburgh favoured the claims of the Princes of Anhalt; and the King of Denmark went so far as to bombard Radzeburgh. The further progress of hostilities was prevented by the joint mediation of England and the United Provinces; but the real question at issue, namely, the right of succession to the territories of Saxe Lauenburgh, was referred to arbitration, and remained for years undecided.

It was true that France had recently made secret proposals to the Elector of Saxony, and it is very possible that these overtures might have been accepted, had not the death of the King of Poland (John Sobieski) presented a new and more attractive object of ambition to the eyes of the Elector. In his contest for the crown of Poland, France was his opponent, and the Prince de Conti his rival; the overtures of Louis were forgotten or rejected, and the Elector contracted new engagements with the Allies.

upon him; and what he said to Count Harrach[1] at parting gives me some jealousy; "for," said he, "when I come home I will look into the business of Saxe Lauenburgh to the bottom, and desire from the Emperor's justice the restitution and possession of it, which if he refuses me, I don't question but by the help of my friends to do myself justice."

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, Jan. 5, 1696, N. S.

Your Lordship[2] must have been informed from England how, in consequence of the refusal of this court to readmit M. Schonenberg, Sir Charles Cotterell was sent to forbid the Spanish Ambassador the court and King's presence, and told no memorials should be received from him till his Majesty had that satisfaction from this court; upon notice of which, on Saturday last, the last day of the old year, the conductor of ambassadors here was sent to me with the very same message, only changing of names, viz., that till his Catholic Majesty had satisfaction from the court of England for what was done to the Marques de Canales, his Ambassador at London, he would receive no offices from me, and further ordered me to forbear going to court, or appearing in his Majesty's presence; to which

[1] Ferdinand Bonaventura, Count Harrach, chief equerry and one of the principal ministers of the Emperor. He shortly afterwards proceeded to Madrid, as Ambassador to that court; but failing to induce the King of Spain to proclaim the Archduke Charles his heir, he returned to Vienna, and was succeeded at Madrid by his son Louis, Count Harrach the younger. On the death of Count Chinski, Count Harrach succeeded to the principal direction of affairs at Vienna.

[2] Extracts from this letter have been already published by Lord Mahon in 'The Court of Spain under Charles II.'

I answered I would readily obey, and give an account thereof to the King my master, as I did the same night by express. If I may believe the ministers here, the same will suddenly come to your Lordship's turn; for a few days before this the Marques de Balbaces told me his Imperial Majesty had assured the[1] he interested himself so far in the cause of this court, that whatever demonstrations should be expressed against the Spanish ministers at London and the Hague, the same should be returned to the English and Dutch at Vienna; so that now, said he, the quarrel is between Schonenberg and *toda la casa de Austria.* I do not entirely credit this upon his word, although I hear from the Hague that Count Kaunitz, in a memorial to the States, has expressed himself in this matter with more warmth than becomes the indifferency of a mediator. What will be the issue I am not able to judge till I have his Majesty's further orders, which if they be, as I expect, for my return, I shall most willingly obey them, after a full six years' absence from dear England, and in a country not the most pleasant in the world to a stranger; only I should be glad, lest the common cause should suffer by this difference, that some expedient of accommodation may be found.

Mr. Robinson to Lord Lexington.

Stockholm, Jan. 1, $169\frac{5}{6}$.

This King's minister at the court of Denmark, having transmitted hither the answer given there to this King's offer of his mediation, in order to an amicable

[1] There is an omission here of a word in the original, which may be supplied either by "the King," or the Spanish minister at Vienna.

accommodation of the present differences between the King of Denmark and the Duke of Holstein, and an account being also come of a late threatening declaration made to that Duke's minister about his master's levies and other matters, a council was thereupon extraordinary held on Sunday last in the evening, where this King resolved to send orders to his forces in Pomeren and Bremen,[1] as also to those in the kingdom towards the frontiers of Denmark, to make themselves ready to march upon the first order; and Baron Welling, who is at Hamburgh, will be ordered to notify this resolution to the Elector of Brandenburgh and House of Lunenburgh, and to desire them to have their troops also in readiness, all which orders will be sent this day. The great zeal this King has shown on this occasion for the maintenance of the Duke in his rights, persuades several that have heretofore doubted that Sweden will not sit still if Denmark proceed to action. I believe these resolutions will also be notified to the rest of the guarantees of the treaty of Altona,[2] and their concurrence desired.

This court has taken a very untoward resolution, that no foreign merchants shall abide in this King's dominions above four months in a year. We think it directly contradicts the treaties Sweden has with England and Holland, and I doubt not but it will be so considered there, and means found to get it revoked, or make the

[1] The possession of Pomerania and Bremen was confirmed to Sweden by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648.

Bremen was subsequently seized by Denmark, and ceded or sold to George I. as Elector of Hanover in 1715.

[2] The Kings of England and Sweden and the United Provinces were joint guarantees of the Treaty of Altona.

Swedish trade as uneasy as ours is like to be if it continue.

Mr. Ellis to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Jan. 3, $169\frac{5}{6}$.

The Lords have made so many alterations in the Coinage Bill that it is almost quite a new one.[1] It was well pulled yesterday on both sides, and about eight at night, upon a division of the committee, it was carried by one, that the Parliament shall name a council of trade, but it is not doubted but that side will lose it in the House, and the Court party prevail, who look upon such an establishment as an abridgment of the King's prerogative.[2]

(Translation.) Paris, Jan. 13, 1696.

A few days ago two ladies met in a narrow street at ten o'clock in the morning. Neither chose to permit her carriage to be drawn back, and they remained without moving for six hours. A little after twelve o'clock they sent for some refreshment for themselves and food for their horses. Each was firmly resolved to stay the night there rather than go back; and they would have done so, but a tavern-keeper in the street, who was prevented by their obstinacy from bringing to his door a cart laden with wine, went in search of the

[1] It is said that when this bill was discussed in council, objections were raised that it was of too sudden and violent a character; and some of the ministers suggested that it would be more politic to remedy the evils complained of by degrees. The King, however, replied that it was better to run through the fire than to walk through it; and the bill received the royal assent on the 21st January.

[2] The Crown retained the nomination of the members of the Council of Trade.

commissary of the district, who at length, but with much trouble, succeeded in effecting an arrangement upon these terms—that each should retire at the same moment, and that neither should pass through the street.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Jan. 10, 1695.[1]

The greatest subject of discourse at present is the Earl of Ranelagh's[2] marriage with my Lady Stawell,[3] and the advantageous overtures he has made her, which is a jointure of 1600*l.* per annum rent charge, his house at Chelsea for her life, and his house near my Lord Halifax in fee, the liberty to dispose of 5000*l.* of her own estate, together with all her plate and jewels, and her pin money is made up 1000*l.* per annum. Besides, her daughter is to live with her at my Lord's expense, so that the increase of her fortune is to be preserved to her.

Mrs. Potter has a cause to be heard to-morrow before the Lords, upon an appeal of Thom Thynne's executors, who seek relief against a decree in Chancery, that orders the payment of a bond of 500*l.* that Mr. Thynne gave Mrs. Potter for her assistance in procuring the match between him and the Duchess of Somerset.[4]

[1] Old style.

[2] Richard Jones, third Viscount and first Earl of Ranelagh, was Paymaster of the Army. He died in 1711, without male issue.

[3] Margaret, the daughter of James Cecil, third Earl of Salisbury, and the widow of John Stawell, second Lord Stawell.

[4] Elizabeth, sole daughter and heiress of Jocelyn Percy, eleventh Earl of Northumberland, married, first, Henry Cavendish, Lord Ogle, eldest son and heir of Henry the last Duke of Newcastle of that family; secondly, Thomas Thynne Esq.; and, thirdly, Charles Seymour, sixth Duke of Somerset. It will be remembered that on the death of her first husband, Count Koningsmark made a desperate attempt to obtain the hand of Lady

Lord Galway to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Turin, Jan. $\frac{11}{21}$, 1696.

You are right in believing that this Court does not much regret the loss of the Count de Windisgratz. The Abbé Grimani had no great regard for him, and they believed him to be of our religion. If the Court of Vienna persuade Prince Louis to go to Hungary this year, the war is at an end in the Empire, and the Circles will the same day demand a neutrality from the French, who will then be enabled to send large reinforcements from the Rhine to their armies in Flanders and here.[1]

(Translation.) Paris, Feb. 3, 1696.

The Parliament has lately confirmed the sentence of death passed on two daughters of a gentleman of Anjou, named Madaillon, for the murder of the lover of their younger sister. It appears that he was engaged to be married to the eldest sister, but deserting her, and passing over the second, he transferred his addresses to the youngest. The two elder sisters, in revenge, in-

Ogle, and failing, procured, or was believed to have procured, the assassination of his successful rival, Mr. Thynne, who was murdered in 1682. It would appear from this letter that Mr. Thynne also adopted what would now be thought irregular means to promote his suit with this great heiress.

[1] The Elector of Saxony was dissatisfied with the result of his last campaign in Hungary, and it was doubtful whether he would consent to return there. It was feared by the Allies that the Emperor, whose first object always was the prosecution of the war with the Turks, might induce Prince Louis to accept the command of the Imperial forces in that quarter. It is probable that Lord Galway did not overrate the difficulties which would have followed such an arrangement; and Lord Lexington received orders to urge in the strongest terms that Prince Louis should be continued on the Rhine.

vited him to play at blind man's buff, and while one bound his eyes, the other cut his throat.

The twenty-eight "new converts," both male and female, who were arrested for holding religious meetings contrary to law, and tried at Orleans by the judge of the Presidial Court, appealed to the Parliament of Paris, but their sentence has been confirmed. An old man, seventy years of age, and another, who has hitherto escaped, are condemned to the galleys; the remainder are to be fined, reprimanded, and discharged.

(Translation.) Paris, Feb. 13, 1696.

It is believed, from the preparation of transport vessels in the harbours, that there is a party in England whom they wish to encourage by the hope of an invasion; or, at least, that they desire to alarm King William, and thus to weaken his army in Flanders. It is certain that the consultations with the Court of St. Germain's are more frequent than is usual, and they flatter themselves that the business of the coin will cause some disturbance in England. I know, also, that about three weeks or a month ago some English quitted St. Germain's under the pretence of coming here (to Paris), but really for the purpose of going to England, and that with this view they have left France.[1]

Mr. Robinson to Lord Lexington.

Stockholm, Feb. 12, $169\frac{5}{6}$.

I expected to have been able ere this to tell your Lordship the success of the negotiation now on foot

[1] Lord Lexington's French correspondent had previously given him an account of the unusual activity which prevailed in preparing vessels and naval munitions of war. This letter, however, contains the first hint of the projected invasion of England.

here, about the affairs of Holstein and the succours,[1] which has gone on more slowly than there was reason to believe, and is not yet come to any conclusion. In what concerns Holstein there remains no difficulty, nor in the business of the succours any other of moment besides the point of money, which is expected by this Court to be a much greater sum than the Baron de Heckeren thinks fit to venture. The succours are proposed to be 3000 foot and 800 odd horse,[2] for which 26,000 crowns per month, and more, is demanded. I believe in a day or two a conference will be held on that subject, in which the treaty will go near to be concluded, or in danger to break off. The French Ambassador[3] has been very industrious to prevent the conclusion of this matter, and had several conferences, in which he has declared that the King, his master, will admit the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen for the foundation of a general peace; and being pressed to declare what that meant, he in another conference said, when the Allies shall have explained their thoughts upon those treaties, the King, his master, will then declare himself farther, and leave the peace to be made to this King's mediation, as your Lordship will see on the other side. Since that, he has offered the mediation of France for composing the differences between the King of Den-

[1] Sweden was bound by treaty to furnish 6000 men to the Allies, but her neutrality was of great value to her commerce, and she had hitherto evaded this engagement; nor was it ever fulfilled. But after lengthened negotiations on the subject, the King of Sweden gave a renewed assurance that the troops should be supplied, if France did not consent to offer fair and reasonable terms for peace; and this promise was of great service to the Allies in inducing the French King to comply with the preliminaries demanded of him.

[2] One cavalry soldier was reckoned equal to three infantry.

[3] The Comte d'Avaux.

mark and Duke of Holstein—upon which I cannot tell what answer will be made, but it would be a very great novelty to accept a declared enemy for a mediator.

"Le 9 Févr. $169\frac{5}{6}$.

"L'Ambassadeur de France a aussi dit, que lorsque les Alliez auront déclaré leur sentiment sur la Paix de Westphalia et Nimègue, le Roi son maître se déclarera plus outre, en telle manière que le Roi de Suède en pourra être satisfait, puisqu'alors il remet à sa médiation et prudence l'affaire de la paix, pour la rendre durable."[1]

Lord Galway to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Turin, Feb. 18, 1696.

His Royal Highness is preparing for a journey. He says that he is only going to Milan to see the Marques de Leganes there, and at the same time to enjoy the opera, and the other pleasures of the carnival. From thence he will proceed to Loretto, and the Marques de Leganes will accompany him. This pilgrimage has been spoken of ever since last autumn, but it is asserted by some, who think themselves wiser than the rest of the world, that there is a secret connected with the journey. They say that the Duke and the Marques de Leganes intend to go to Venice, or that his Royal Highness will even visit Vienna. For myself, I believe nothing of the kind. I may be mistaken, but I do not think there is any mystery in this journey.[2]

[1] It will be observed that nothing is here said of the recognition of William III.

[2] The Duke of Savoy went to Loretto, but his journey was unconnected with either pleasure or piety. His secret negotiation with France was in full progress; and he was

(Translation.) Paris, Feb. 20, 1696.

The royal treasury is empty. M. de Pontchartrain[1] states, without disguise, to all who ask for money that he has none; and a great number of persons are reduced to the deepest distress, especially the naval and military officers, most of whom are without a sou. The keepers of the treasury, who are accustomed to pay regularly, and with ready money, the claims on the civil list, now owe more than 500,000 crowns. They hope, however, soon to obtain 12,000,000 on the security of the new tax on postage, but the decree for imposing this tax is not yet published; and although the rate of interest will be very advantageous to those who advance the money, it is asserted by many who are well informed on the subject, that the King will find it difficult to procure the loan. His credit is weakened as his debts increase, and private individuals can now invest their money in trade at 10 per cent. The war extraordinaries, which have hitherto borne 8, or at most 9 per cent., are now at 10 per cent., although the bills are payable at three or four months.[2] It is now

anxious to escape for a time from the scrutiny of Lord Galway and the other ministers of the Allies. It is said that he met at Loretto an agent of Louis XIV., but the 'Memoirs of the Comte de Tessé,' which give a very minute account of these negotiations, make no mention of such an interview. It is, however, probable that while in Italy the Duke prepared the Italian Princes, and especially the Pope, for the step which he was about to take.

[1] Louis Philippaux de Pontchartrain succeeded to the office of Minister of Marine on the death of Seignelai in 1691. He was also intrusted with the management of the finances, and continued for many years one of the most confidential ministers of Louis XIV.

[2] In England, tallies were 40 per cent. below par, and, as appears from this letter, the Government bills in France were at an equal discount.

In fact, the time was rapidly approaching, when, if the war had not been terminated by the treaty of Ryswick, the truth of the French King's saying, "the last guinea will carry the day," would have been

thought that some attempt on the coast of England is in contemplation, and the advices from thence strengthen this impression. They announce that affairs there are in great disorder, and likely to grow worse. The Court of St. Germain's is in high spirits, and ready to take advantage of anything that may occur. These people assert that King William has recently committed three or four grave errors, which may cost him dear. They say that he was ill-advised—firstly, in inviting the Parliament to discuss the business of the coinage; secondly, in consenting to the establishment of an India Company in Scotland; thirdly, in making so large a grant to Lord Portland;[1] and fourthly, in assenting to the bill for the regulation of the proceedings in cases of high treason.[2] They think that disaffection will increase, and conspiracies be formed, which will afford a favourable opportunity for the prosecution of the intrigues which they constantly carry on in England, and they expect no less than the restoration of King James without striking a blow.[3]

exemplified; nor were the finances of the other contending powers in a more flourishing state. The pressure of war taxes was severely felt in the United Provinces; and about the date of this letter a dangerous tumult was excited in Amsterdam, by the imposition of a tax upon beer. The Imperial treasury was exhausted, and Spain, with all the wealth of South America nominally at her disposal, was in reality almost bankrupt.

[1] The King had granted to Lord Portland the Lordships of Denbigh, Bronfield, and Yale, and other lands in Wales, but was compelled to revoke the grant, on a spirited remonstrance from the gentlemen of the Principality, who were highly incensed at the proposed transfer to a foreigner of the ancient demesnes of the Princes of Wales.

[2] William gave a reluctant assent to this bill; and although the measure was founded upon the essential principles of justice, its success was justly regarded as an evidence of the declining influence of the Court. *Vide* Somerville's Political Transactions.

[3] The stringent measures adopted by Parliament for the reformation of the coinage, although necessary, and in the end highly beneficial, aggravated, for the time, the ex-

It is alleged that the Duke of Berwick did not go to Catalonia, but that he proceeded to Brest, and embarked at that port.[1]

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Feb. 14, 1695.[x]

Some words passed yesterday in the Committee between Sir Richard Atkins[3] and Sir Edward Seymour, that the House thought fit to interpose for preventing any quarrel. There being a question proposed for leaving the chair, and Sir Edward Seymour being thought in his debate to deviate from it, Sir Richard took him down to order, which he, being surprised at, questioned whether he understood what order was; some others took notice of that as an improper reflection, and Sir Richard's reply to it was, that he should not apply to the House for satisfaction in any

isting distress. The establishment and subsequent disavowal of the new India Company was a blunder which was indeed soon forgotten in England, but the recollection of which rankled in the minds of the Scotch, and was regarded by them not only as an act of injustice, but an insult to the nation. The open preference which William not unnaturally but very unwisely displayed for foreigners, and especially for the Earl of Portland, was a grievance of which the Jacobites successfully availed themselves; and they might with some reason hope that the recent alterations in the law of treason would give them greater opportunities for their plots and intrigues.

On reviewing then the state of affairs in England at this time, it is not surprising that the exiled King, even if ignorant of the project of assassinating William, which is doubtful, should have entertained sanguine expectations of a re-action in his favour.

[1] James Fitz-James, Duke of Berwick, had left Paris under the pretence that his presence was required in Catalonia, to restore discipline in an Irish regiment there, which had mutinied for pay, but in reality he had sailed for England, where he remained in disguise for some days, engaged in preparing measures for the intended insurrection.

[x] Old style.

[3] Sir R. Atkins, M.P. for Buckinghamshire.

case where he could hope for it elsewhere. I hear my Lord Wharton has left his personal estate to several trustees, to be disposed of in charitable uses; and one thing is particular, that he hath left 150*l.* per annum to be only laid out in Bibles to be given to the poorer sort.[1]

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, March 1, 1696, N. S.

I was favoured, by our last English packet-boat, with one from your Lordship of the 31st of December, and another from your Secretary, with the lamentable account of poor Czar Peter,[2] whom I wish better success this year. What I writ last of the French design of abandoning Gerona was only one of their usual feints, and is no more thought of. On the contrary, this Court seems at present under great apprehensions for Barcelona, and have alarmed Sir George Rooke with their fears; who is so far from being able to assist them, that if the French fleet were now ready, as is reported, he has not a strength sufficient with him to defend himself. But Mynheer Vandergoes is daily expected at Cadiz with twenty-five English and Dutch good men-of-war, who, I hope, will be in time to prevent

[1] Philip, fourth Lord Wharton, the father of Mr. Comptroller Wharton. It is to be feared that his son, who succeeded him as Lord Wharton, and was subsequently created Earl and Marquis of Wharton, did not profit by his father's bequest; at least Mackay states that he was "much of a libertine."

[2] The Czar, who was at war with the Porte, invaded the Crimea, and in July, 1695, besieged Azoph. This paragraph in Mr. Stanhope's letter probably refers to the successful resistance of the Turks during the remainder of that year, which compelled the Russians to relinquish the attempt to obtain possession of the place by storm. The siege, however, was not abandoned: Peter established a blockade, and succeeded in reducing Azoph in July, 1696.

the French passing the Straits; which if they could do, they threaten us at home to land King James, either in England or Scotland, of which I have seen a letter from Paris, as well as advices from several other ports. Yesterday a jewel was ordered Sir G. Rooke of 20,000 pieces of eight; one to the Dutch Commander-in-Chief of six; and another, the same value, to Vice-Admiral Mitchell. This looks as if they design an accommodation of the differences between us as to punctilios of Ministers, of which though I yet hear nothing, yet am in daily hopes it will suddenly be.

(Translation.) Paris, March 2, 1696.

The secret object of the recent preparations has now transpired—it is the invasion of England. The ability and secrecy with which this affair has been conducted excites admiration; and people are astonished to find that all the arrangements, which induced them to believe that a very different object was in view, related to this enterprise. There is a rumour also of an insurrection in Scotland, and it is said that the Scotch have been for a long time preparing for it.[1] The Ministers of this Court do not venture to predict the success of the projected invasion, but they say that France must be a gainer by it, since it will at least embarrass the plans of the King of England with respect to Flanders, and perhaps prevent him from going thither. The Most Christian King, in announcing the enterprise, said that it was impossible to foretell the result; but that had not King James received very favourable intelligence from within his own kingdoms,

[1] This rumour was incorrect: there was wide-spread disaffection, but no insurrection, in Scotland.

he certainly would not have engaged in it. He (King James) departed on Tuesday to embark at Calais, and everything is ready for his voyage to England. Eighteen battalions of infantry, three regiments of cavalry, thirteen squadrons and two regiments of dragoons are in course of embarkation, and more than four hundred transports are in readiness. The whole is commanded by the Marquis d'Harcourt. There are also several ships of war and frigates to protect the transports, and M. Gabarett will command the naval armament. They have sent on board a great quantity of Louis d'or, in addition to the 60,000 in King James's chest. It is believed here that the convoy for the Cadiz fleet has sailed from England, and that it will be easy to land the troops. It is also said that the King of England has not in all more than 5000 men in England,[1] and the enterprise therefore is, on this account, more likely to succeed; but, until the troops are landed, those who are best informed suspend their judgment. It is clear that this Court intends to proceed with great caution. The attempt will be made, in the first instance, with an army of no great force; but this will at least embarrass the King of England, and, should the landing be effected, they will despatch reinforcements as the occasion may require. For this purpose they have troops in readiness in the neighbourhood,[2] and everything is prepared for their transport. I am assured that, if the wind be favourable, they will set sail the day after to-morrow.

[1] The number of troops in England is underrated. It will be seen that, in his letter of the 6th March, Mr. Prior states that there were 11,000 men in England; Dalrymple says that they amounted to 14,000.

[2] Under the command of Maréchal de Boufflers.

It is said that the Duke of Berwick, who has returned from England, and joined King James on the road to Calais, has assured him that his forces will be augmented as soon as he arrives in England; but the intelligence which King James has hitherto received has not always proved correct.[1]

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

March 3, 1696.

We have now reason to believe that this Court seriously thinks of marrying the King of the Romans into Denmark; and, as I am informed from good hands, Père Weser, he that has treated it all along in Denmark, is gone to Rome to procure a dispensation on some points of religion which the Princess scruples: as the belief of purgatory, the invocation of saints, and the Communion in both kinds; which granted, she is to change her religion. I confess I don't understand their design in taking a Princess some years older than the King, not very handsome, and whose house is so linked with France[2] that we see their whole councils and ministry are entirely influenced by it, leaving the Princess of Savoy,[3] whose years, religion, and every-

[1] It would appear from the 'Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick' that the report which he brought back of the state of the Jacobite party in England was not of the favourable nature here described.

[2] Princess Sophia Hedwig of Denmark was born in 1677, and the King of the Romans (afterwards the Emperor Joseph I.) in 1678. He was crowned King of Hungary in 1687, and King of the Romans in 1690. Joseph married in 1699 Wilhelmina Amelia, daughter of John Frederick, Duke of Hanover (and niece to the Elector of Hanover), who was born in 1673.

[3] Princess Mary Adelaide of Savoy was born in 1685, and was therefore barely eleven years old. She was, however, affianced to the Duc de Bourgogne the same year, 1696, and the marriage was celebrated in 1697.

thing are more suitable, and whose father has sacrificed all for the House of Austria and the Allies. I wish it does not disgust him, especially now the French make him such advantageous offers, and these people absolutely neglect him, and do everything as if 't was on purpose to chagrin him.[1]

(Translation.) Paris, March 5, 1696.

We are every moment in expectation of the intelligence that King James has embarked for England. During the last four days more than 150 vessels have arrived at Calais from Bordeaux, laden with provisions for the troops. I am informed that there are now at Calais 13 frigates and other vessels armed "en flûte," to convoy the transports and to aid in the landing, which will be attempted about four leagues from Dover.

Yesterday the Court received intelligence from St. Malo that the squadron which had left Spithead for Cadiz had been forced back again by contrary winds, and this may probably impede the enterprise. The squadron under MM. de Nesmond and de Renault will not be ready before the 12th of this month, which was the time fixed by the Court; but they will not wait for them, as King James has been urged to cross immediately, both by the Scotch, for the reasons I have mentioned[2] in my former letters, and by the English, who fear that Parliament may be prorogued or dissolved before he arrives.[3] It is said that they have stipulated,

[1] The Emperor was frequently pressed to demand the hand of the Princess of Savoy for his son; and he at length consented to make overtures to the Duke of Savoy for this purpose, but it was then too late. The separate treaty with France was already concluded.

[2] The rumoured insurrection.

[3] It is clear, then (if the writer of this letter was correctly informed), that James expected assistance, not opposition, from the Parliament. He certainly had received secret

among other things, for the perpetuity of the Parliament, and that as soon as King James lands, he shall publish a general amnesty, both on his own account and on that of the King of France, and that the French refugees shall be permitted to return to France and to resume possession of their property. The Duke of Berwick was in London six days, disguised as a postilion. An order has been issued for the detention of all letters for foreign countries until King James has crossed the Channel. It would appear by those from London of the 24th that there was, as yet, no suspicion of the intended expedition, but that they believed the French had some design upon Ostend.[1] Sensible people here regard as a delusion the confidence with which it is asserted that King James will certainly be restored to his throne, but they are not surprised that the King should have concurred with these visionaries, for they say that there is everything to gain and very little to lose. King James may be restored, or he may perish; peace in either case will be more easy, and at the worst there will be disturbances in England, which will render King William useless to the other Allies. A short time will show whether this reasoning is correct.

Mr. Cartwright to Lord Lexington.

Feb. 24, 1695.[2]

I have not taken Mr. Clay's[3] accounts, for as yet he dares not venture to receive any money; for guineas

assurances of support from many of the leading members of both Houses.

[1] But King William was now fully aware that the object of the preparations was the invasion of England; and Lord Portland had already discovered the conspiracy against the person of the King.

[2] Old style.

[3] Mr. Clay was Lord Lexington's steward.

which were current at thirty shillings are now twenty-five shillings,[1] and all silver so bad that we all live upon trust, except for ale, where any money passes, the excisemen having orders to receive such.

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, March 6, N. S., 1696.

Your Lordship will easily imagine the surprise the French preparations give us: his Majesty has been advised of it some time since. The troops in England are indeed dispersed, but we have 11,000 men there; the squadron being at Spithead, some ships of war in the river, the troops easy enough to be transported from our side, the King and most of the officers in England, and the Parliament sitting, the devil sure is in the French to attempt a descent upon us. I rather think all this may be meant against Scotland, and the French design to make a push for it there, or fairly leave King James; but most are of another opinion, and my writing my sentiments is to leave them to your Lordship's judgment, and to say that I hope to make a poem and drink a bottle upon their being ruined.[2]

[1] It will be observed that the recent measures for the reform of the silver coinage had already decreased the value of guineas.

[2] The Elector of Bavaria, the Duke of Wurtemburgh, and the Prince de Vaudemont, each sent a courier to William as soon as the preparations at Calais were known; but it would appear that he had been already warned of the intended invasion before these messengers arrived. It is possible that he received information of the intentions of the French government from the Earl of Sunderland, who was undoubtedly in communication (through Lord Arran, his son-in-law) with James II.

Lord Villiers to Lord Lexington.

Hague, March 6, N. S., 1696.

I had not troubled you so soon after my last, but to send you the enclosed. The news in it, I believe, will surprise you, and make you very impatient to know the event of it; pray God send us a good one. As often as I have an opportunity I will acquaint you with the progress of this undertaking.

Hague, March 6, N. S., 1696.

The French preparations at Dunkirk and Calais seem now to be designed against England. The forces they intend to embark are said to be 20,000 men, of which 6000 only were arrived at Dunkirk on the 1st instant, and the same day 104 sail were seen before that place, making towards Calais, where King James then was, in order to embark. The number of men-of-war at Dunkirk, and consequently designed for this expedition, consists in 20 for the line of battle, most of them between 50 and 70 guns, besides which are 12 bylanders, 52 scutes, and all the fisher-boats that can be got together; they have great store of ammunition with them, and one vessel laden with bombs. M. de Boufflers was at Dunkirk on Thursday last, and in all probability is to command the troops. Upon this information all imaginable care is taken here that transport ships and convoys be ready for the embarking such troops as his Majesty may order to go to England. We received last night the English letters of Friday last, which make no mention of the enemy's landing or approaching. We shall know by our letters, which we expect by and bye from Flanders, if they are gone out.

(Translation.) Paris, March 12, 1696.

The letters from Calais contain no information of importance. The troops are still there, and no time has hitherto been fixed for their embarkation. It has been deferred under the pretext of waiting for the high tide, which is expected about the 17th, or, as some say, for the arrival of M. de Nesmond, who was still at Brest on the 5th. It is stated, however, on good authority that they are awaiting some intelligence from England, and surprise is expressed that it has not been received before this time.[1]

The letters from Brittany are filled with the account of a remarkable vision lately seen there. Two armies appeared in the sky, one with white and the other with red standards. They were engaged in a combat with each other on a large plain, in the presence of a third army, which bore no colours. The first compelled the second to retreat; it then retired and was joined by the third. They say that 150 persons were witnesses of this imaginary battle, and all assert that they heard distinctly the reports of cannon and of musketry.

The Marquis de Lavardin, who is the Lieutenant-General of the province, has mentioned this as a well-authenticated fact, but notwithstanding his testimony, sensible persons refuse to believe it.

Lord Portland to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Kensington, March $\frac{3}{13}$, no date but 1696.

You will have been extremely surprised to learn the peril to which we have been exposed. We were on

[1] It is scarcely possible to refrain from believing that they were awaiting the result of the attempt to assassinate William.

the brink of a precipice and ready to fall, when, by a manifest interposition of Providence, we were made aware of the danger which threatened us and all Europe. On Thursday, the 13th (23rd),[1] a man whom I knew[2] came to tell me, that on the Saturday following (the 15th) his Majesty would be attacked and assassinated by forty-six men, the greater part of whom had been in the service of King James; and that there were among them a lieutenant, a brigadier, and a sub-brigadier of his English and Irish guards, who had been sent from France for the purpose. He further stated that his Majesty would be attacked at Turnham Green, on his return from hunting, when his escort would consist of twenty-four men. I immediately gave notice to the King of the information which I had received, but he would not believe it. The following Friday, the 14th, at nine o'clock in the evening, a man, whom I did not know,[3] but who had been a captain of cavalry in Ireland, came to me at Whitehall, where I fortunately was, having been detained there by business. He informed me that the King would be assassinated the next day; that he was himself one of the conspirators; that the plan was so arranged that it could not (humanly speaking) fail to succeed; that the moment the fatal blow was given, there would be a general insurrection of all the Jacobites and Roman Catholics in the Kingdom; and that King James was ready to embark at Calais with a French army to invade England. I immediately

[1] Of February.

[2] Captain Fisher, who was one of the conspirators. Dalrymple says that he refused to name his accomplices, fled from the sight of man, and was never heard of more.

[3] Captain Prendergrass, another of the conspirators. He was rewarded for this information by a grant of 7082 acres of land in Ireland.

set off hither to see the King, who was on the point of retiring to bed, and intending to hunt the next day, had already ordered his carriages and guards for the morning, and dinner to be prepared for him at Richmond. His Majesty, however, altered his plans, and determined on remaining here. Two days afterwards two other persons came to me, who confirmed in every particular the information which I had previously received, and further stated that the conspirators, having failed in their intended blow, had determined on making the attempt the following Saturday. The names of many of them were known, and all who could be found were immediately seized. They have already been examined; some have confessed, and all will be tried in a few days.[1] At the same time we received information from Flanders that the enemy had collected a great body of troops at Dunkirk and Calais, as well as a large number of transport vessels and ships of war, that the troops were either on board or being embarked, and that it was well known there that they were assembled for the invasion of England. The King immediately ordered our army to march towards Kent, and gave directions that the ships, both in the river and at Portsmouth, should be assembled in the Downs. Admiral Russell was despatched to take the command, and two days afterwards he set sail for the coast of France with sixty ships.[2] He found at Calais more than 400 trans-

[1] Eight were executed, and two pardoned. Sir George Barclay, who was at the head of the conspiracy, escaped.

[2] But it is stated by Dalrymple and others that Admiral Russell was one of those who while holding high office under William were in secret communication with the court of St. Germain's. On this occasion, however, at least, as well as at the battle of La Hogue, he appears to have performed his duty with zeal and fidelity.

port vessels, which the enemy, who had already received information of the approach of our fleet, had withdrawn into the bay as far as was possible, to save them from being burnt. He also found in the roads, at Dunkirk, eighteen ships-of-war, which for the same reason they had anchored behind the sand banks on the coast of Flanders. You will learn, from other quarters, the particulars of the vigorous and energetic measures of Parliament on this occasion. [1]

I do not believe that times past afford us an example of so horrible and treacherous an attempt at murder, recognized and sanctioned, as this has been, by a public authority. All the conspirators who have made any disclosure or confession allege that they had an order from King James, in his own handwriting, authorizing them to strike the blow; [2] and this statement is con-

[1] Both Houses, after some discussion, voted addresses of congratulation to the King on his preservation, assuring him of their support, and that if he should come to any violent death, they would revenge the same on all his enemies. They also framed an association, by which they bound themselves to defend the succession to the Crown, according to the Act of Settlement of 1689; and two bills were immediately prepared, and speedily passed, by the first of which, all who refused to take the oaths of fidelity to the King were subjected to penalties and forfeitures; and by the second, those who refused to sign the association were disabled from holding any office of profit or trust.

[2] Lord Portland was scarcely justified in making this assertion; for although Sir George Barclay held a commission from James, "commanding his loving subjects to rise in arms, and make war upon the Prince of Orange, the Usurper, &c., and to do from time to time such acts of hostility against the Prince of Orange as might conduce most to his (King James's) service," &c.; yet all the prisoners firmly denied that King James had any knowledge of the intended assassination; and he himself most solemnly protested that he was in no way cognizant of it. On the other hand, it is clear that the plot, which was many months in contemplation, was known to some of the most trusted councillors of the exiled King. The Duke of Berwick, for instance, was certainly aware of it; and it is difficult to believe that the intended invasion was in no degree dependent on its success.

firmed by the fact, that he sent officers and guards from France to take part in this abominable attempt, from the success of which Providence has saved us almost by a miracle. The danger is past, but I tremble when I reflect on the atrocity of the scheme, and the state to which all the Allies would have been reduced had it succeeded. I should have been in the same carriage with the King, and should have shared his fate; but death would have been preferable to slavery under enemies so barbarous and inhuman.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, March 3, 1695.[1]

I have been so over employed with the examinations of prisoners, that I have not been able to look near the House of Commons, and, therefore, can give but little account of their proceedings; yet instead thereof, I can tell you that the late villainous design of assassinating the King is made apparent by undeniable proof. George Porter,[2] who was to bear a great part in it, hath made an ample confession, which he signed this day, and hath sworn to, and now his irons are taken off. This villainy seems to have been contrived by Sir George Barclay, a lieutenant of King James's Guards; Sir William Perkins, late one of the six clerks; Porter, and Charnock—which last is to be tried to-morrow sennight. The two former are not yet taken, the more is the pity.[3]

[1] Old style.

[2] Captain Porter, a man of infamous character. Dalrymple says that he had solicited to be allowed to strike the first blow at the King.

[3] Sir George Barclay escaped, but Sir William Perkins was taken. Robert Charnock was the same who, as Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, had already gained an un-

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, March 6, 1695.[1]

I can send you but a short account of Parliament proceedings, not having been able to stir to Westminster since my last by reason of the prisoners' examinations, which are now pretty well over, and their trials will next come on. To-morrow the grand jury meets for that purpose, and Captain Porter and one Francis La Rue are to attend there, to give evidence for finding the bills against Charnock, King, and Keys. This is the least reparation Porter can make for the great share he had in so base a design. La Rue, though he caballed with that party, seems not to have intended that villainy, and was, therefore, pretty early in the discovery of it. The counsel the prisoners have desired may assist them are Tom Jones, James Monday, and one Copley. Either Jones is indisposed or he pretends it; and, therefore, Thornborough is chosen by Charnock in his place.

(Translation.) Paris, March 16, 1696.

Since the arrival of the last post, the expedition of King James has assumed a very different appearance. It is now known that King William is not only on his guard, but that he has also discovered a conspiracy against his person. Since the 9th inst., the enemy's fleet before Gravelines, which at first numbered sixty vessels, has been increased to eighty sail, half ships-of-war and half transports. The expedition now wears so unfavourable an aspect, that they wish that they had

enviable notoriety in the contest between King James and that college in 1686-87.

[1] Old style.

never undertaken it. They cannot prevent the public from believing that their only hope of success in it was founded on the plot for the assassination of the King. The stay which King James proposes to make at Dunkirk does not alter this opinion, but, on the contrary, confirms it. This affected perseverance in a design which is now rendered morally impossible induces the belief that there is some mystery which they are anxious to conceal: moreover, the sudden appearance of the enemy's fleet has created a bad effect in the minds of the people. They are mortified to see a nation, which they threatened to invade, haughtily insulting them on their very coasts. The only advantage which they have derived from this enterprise is the recall of some troops from Flanders to England; but at the moment when, wishing to avail themselves of this diversion in their favour, they spoke of retaking Namur, they suddenly heard that the Allies had marched to Dinant.[1] A rumour also reached them that Pignerol was besieged,[2] and on the same day advices were received from England which caused the deepest mortification here; for it appears that the Prince of Orange has acquired reputation and glory where they had prepared for him a tomb, and that he has derived additional strength and support from the very means by which they sought his destruction. M. de Pontchartrain was the only one of the Ministers of this Court who was aware of the project, as King James requested that it should be kept strictly secret.

[1] A portion of the Allied army under Lord Athlone invested Dinant, while another detachment under General Coehorn bombarded Givet, where Louis had established large magazines. Givet was burnt and the magazines destroyed. Both detachments of the Allies then returned to Namur.

[2] This rumour was incorrect.

(Translation.) Paris, March 19, 1696.

I do not believe that the King ever expected any other advantage from King James's expedition than that of embarrassing King William, of delaying his passage to Flanders, and of obliging him to withdraw troops from thence. Maréchal de Boufflers received directions not to embark a single man without an express order from the Court, which the King was firmly resolved not to give unless very good reasons were shown for it. But King James himself really believed that he was to be replaced on his throne, and that nothing was more easy. They say that his Keeper of the Seals, on leaving Paris, provided himself with a great quantity of wax and with silk, to the amount of twenty pistoles, to seal pardons and official documents when he should reach London. Other members of his Council also showed marks of their confident belief in the speedy restoration of their King. A medal has been seen here, about two ounces in weight, on which is engraved a head, with this inscription, "M. Wilhelmus Henricus Nass: Princeps Aur: Magnæ Britanniæ Tyrannus;" and on the other side a figure of Absalom, suspended to a tree by his hair, with these words, "Ecce Magnus Absalon."[1] As the public is persuaded that

[1] This medal is, no doubt, identical with one, of which Tindal gives both an account and a representation in the Appendix to his History; but the inscription is there stated to be "Ecce manus (not magnus) Absalon;" and Tindal explains the word "manus" by saying that it refers to the statue, or pillar, which Absalom caused to be erected to himself in the valley of the King during his rebellion, and which was called "The Hand of Absalom," or "Absalom's Place." On the reverse of the medal is a figure of Absalom suspended by the hair, while his mule, which, according to Tindal, is intended to represent Holland, escapes from under him; and the Dutch are congratulated on their anticipated emancipation from the rule of William in the following words, which appear in the exergue: "Geluckigh Holland," (Happy Holland.)

both King James and the King of France were concerned in the conspiracy against the person of King William, and that their only hope of success in their enterprise was founded on the expectation of his death, they are preparing a statement to remove this impression. Three or four persons have been sent to the Bastille for having ventured to say what they thought on this subject.[1]

Mr. Stepney to Lord Lexington.

Cassel, March $\frac{10}{20}$, 1696.

Our English letters, I am sure, must have given your Lordship full satisfaction; but Chinski, perhaps, may criticise upon the wording the association, which begins a little bluntly: "D'autant qu'il y a une horrible conspiration formée et conduite *par des Papistes et d'autres scélérats et traîtres.*" Very pretty company for our Allies; but the Emperor and the rest of our Catholic friends must pardon the first heat after the discovery of so damnable a conspiracy. This good Prince[2] has kept a thanksgiving-day, having ordered Te Deum to be sung in all our churches, and a triple discharge of our cannon round the walls. At noon we had God bless the King, in a pint-glass, so heartily is our good news received at this Court; and I make no question it will meet with the same reception all through Germany.

[1] It is curious, that in the Memoirs of the Marquis de Dangeau there should not be the slightest allusion either to the conspiracy against William, or to the proposed invasion of England. The Marquis once incidentally mentions, that the Queen of England wore no rouge at this time, as her husband was absent; but he does not state the reason of his having left St. Germain's, or even that he had gone to Calais. There can be no better proof that all reference to the subject was forbidden by the French King.

[2] The Landgrave.

Mr. Ellis to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, March 13, $169\frac{5}{6}$.

Little or no business is yet done here but what concerns this abominable conspiracy, which takes up all the time of the Ministers, who meet twice a day, and sit several hours together upon examinations of persons known or suspected to have a hand in it. It seems to be so far spread that most of the Papists and Jacobites in England had more or less knowledge of it.[1] A great number of priests and others, that are no friends to the Government, came flocking lately from Flanders, under several pretences, but surely to this one purpose. The King has thought fit to order in Council that no foreign Ministers of the Roman Catholic religion shall keep any chaplains of his subjects, or subjects of his enemies, which is to be notified to them by the Master of the Ceremonies to-morrow.

Admiral Russell is come to town, but Sir Cloudesly Shovel is still endeavouring to do mischief to the French ships at Calais and in the Flemish roads.[2]

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, March 13, 1695.[3]

The greatest curiosity I can send your Lordship is the account of the trials on Wednesday, and I have drawn up a state of the evidence as fully as I could remember it: not only for your Lordship's satisfaction, but for the conviction of others, if there be any of those

[1] This was probably true as regards the invasion, but it would be unjust to impute to the great body of the Jacobites, or of the Roman Catholics in England, a knowledge of the assassination plot.

[2] Calais was again bombarded on the 3rd of April by Admiral Benbow.

[3] Old style.

where you are (as we have had too many), who pretend to be infidels in matters of plots, and would have it thought that none were intended which are not executed. But this discovery has puzzled the incredulous among us, who never could find less to object against a thing of this nature; and as for the malicious, among all the ill characters they bestow upon the witnesses, as if they were ungrateful, mean spirits, betrayers of their friends, and the like, yet they abate them the name of perjured, and don't find where to fix that imputation upon any of them.[1] I will further acquaint your Lordship with a remark I made upon one of the prisoners, viz., Charnock: from what I have heard of his conversation, and observed of his demeanour at his trial, that I think he has the greatest qualifications for such purposes as he was engaged in that ever I saw in any man; being in his composition a renegade from the religion of his country, and one that was bred a scholar in the University, and had added to it the profession of a soldier; and he showed a specimen of both in an undaunted behaviour and a readiness of expression, with a quick apprehension and great presence of mind, even under the confusion of a trial for his life. He appeared to be as close and reserved as the carrying on his rash and desperate designs would admit of; and his conversation was easy, generous, and insinuating, and one that even made his pleasures and debaucheries subservient to his ends. He is but of indifferent extraction, and therefore his practising could be but among an inferior rank of people, or else he might have been another Catiline.[2]

[1] Mr. Vernon here refers to the imputations which had been cast upon the Government for their conduct with respect to the "Lancashire Conspiracy."

[2] Bishop Burnet states, on the

I suppose their execution will not be till Wednesday next, and I don't know but Sir William Perkins may be tried the Saturday following. He was brought before the Lords yesterday, to be examined; he pretended to be in great disorder and confusion, and therefore desired two or three days' time to recollect himself; and then, he said, if he might be admitted to speak with one of the Lords, he would answer as became a gentleman;[1] but that was not thought an ingenuity fit for one in his circumstances, and so he was immediately remanded to Newgate.

(Translation.) Paris, March 23, 1696.

The royal edict for the ennoblement of five hundred persons, on the payment of sums of money, was registered by Parliament on Tuesday last. It declares, among other things, that merchants and wholesale dealers will be accepted, and that they may continue in business without the loss of their nobility.[2]

authority of Lord Somers, and Dalrymple also says, that Charnock sent a message to the King, offering to disclose the names of all those who had employed him in England, on condition that his punishment should be changed from death to perpetual imprisonment; and that William generously answered, that he did not wish to know them: but the testimony of Mr. Vernon (no partial witness) to the firmness displayed by Charnock on his trial, would tend to confirm the previous statement of Burnet, that the Government endeavoured to induce him to confess all he knew; and that he replied, that he would not sacrifice the lives of others to save his own. It is, however, probable that he sent the message referred to after his conviction. Charnock, King, and Keys, who were tried together, were executed on the 18th March, old style: each left a paper with the sheriff, in which they admitted their participation in the plot; but the two former again most solemnly denied that King James had any knowledge of it.

[1] But he firmly refused to name his accomplices.

[2] Louis XIV. obtained considerable sums by the sale of public employments, and indeed offices were frequently created solely for the purpose of selling them; but the financial distress must have been great

King James's expedition has now become a subject of raillery with all who dare to speak of it. As he is not permitted to return to St. Germain's, but is detained on the coast, they say that between two seats he has fallen to the ground: that he is placed on the coast to defend it, but that he is scarcely qualified for this office, since it is he who attracts the enemy thither. That, having had no opportunity at Calais of using the wax which the Chancellor carried with him, it is to be resold, and that it now graces the shop of a grocer there. His unhappy star exposes him to these and other similar jests. The King of France, however, has derived a real advantage from the project: it has induced them to recall troops to England, and this has caused the greater satisfaction here because the failure of the siege of Dinant is attributed to it. It is also hoped that this proceeding may irritate the English nation, and prevent the King from going to Flanders. Should this be so, you will infallibly see the King of France on the frontiers, for the execution of some great movement.[1]

Mr. Greg to Sir William Trumbull.[2]

Copenhagen, March 14, $169\frac{5}{6}$.

Mnr. Meyercroon (who is this King's Envoy in France) together with the news of the intended descent into England sent an account hither that the late King

indeed when *Le Grand Monarque* consented to confer the privileges of nobility on persons engaged in trade.

[1] Probably an attempt to retake Namur, of which the French King despaired while William in person directed the movements of the Allies.

[2] A copy of this letter was sent by Mr. Greg to Lord Lexington.

James had shown to the French King a numerous list of persons of quality and note, even in England, who had invited him to the said undertaking.[1] This, together with their opinion here of the French King's prudence, inclined many to think that the least consequence of this matter would have been a great diversion to his Majesty's arms; and they are much surprised to find it come to nothing so very suddenly by the good Providence of God. Those that are anything reasonable, finding now by the debarking of the French troops again immediately upon the news of the discovery of the conspiracy against his Majesty's sacred person, that the descent was concerted with the said conspiracy, do not deny but that there is great appearance of the French King's having been concerned in the one as well as the other, and of his having concerted both with the late King James; and that the French King's own words, affirming the design to have been *well concerted*, are naturally to be understood of the said damnable concert. Mnr. de Jessen[2] (who has at last spoke to me of this matter of himself) seems not to be adverse from this opinion; but he says that the respect due to crowned heads forbids us to believe it. I told him that such considerations might forbid some to say it, but could not hinder any reasonable man from believing it upon such evident grounds; the thing being sufficiently declared to the whole world by the French King's furnishing so

[1] Dalrymple mentions the names of those who urged King James to undertake the invasion; and among them is to be found that of Lord Sunderland, who was at this time, in reality, the chief adviser of King William. Macpherson also gives a still longer list of eminent persons pledged to support King James, which includes some of the leading members of the administration, and many others, who were ostensibly at least ardent supporters of the Government of the Revolution.

[2] M. de Jessen, one of the ministers of the King of Denmark.

many troops and ships and so much money to second the intended assassination; which being happily discovered by the goodness of Almighty God, the troops immediately returned to their garrisons, and the ships to the ports from whence they came. I told him further, that 'twas never to be believed that the French King would at this time have resolved to venture so many troops and ships and so much money upon such a desperate attempt as an invasion of England without some extraordinary assurance of good success, which assurance could be founded upon nothing else but the expected success of the said horrid assassination. In fine, I told him that such diabolical practices ought to render the party that makes use of them odious to all good Christians, and that I hoped many that had been favourably enough inclined to the French cause hitherto would be averse to it from this time forward.

(Translation.) Paris, March 26, 1696.

Many persons here assert that there never was any real conspiracy against King William's life. They say that the alleged plot was a contrivance of the Government, who, when they heard of the preparations at Calais, used this artifice to ascertain the sentiments of the Parliament with regard to King James, and to revive the popular feeling against him. It is, however, stated that the Duke of Berwick has spoken of the conspiracy to several persons, and that he has gone so far as to show them the speech which he had prepared for the scaffold, in the event of his being taken.[1]

[1] On the discovery of the plot a proclamation was issued, and a reward of 1000*l.* offered for the apprehension of each of the parties implicated in it. The Duke of Berwick's name was included in this proclamation.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, March 17, 1695.[1]

Two such designs as an assassination and an invasion must furnish a vast field for inquiries, and one discovery opens a door to another. I hope it will prove a means towards our settlement that the blood-thirsty disturbers of our peace are not like to lie long concealed. Sir John Friend[2] will be tried on account of the invasion, and when that matter comes to be opened, it will appear what vipers we nourish who seek to betray their country, and to deliver it into the power of a foreigner and its natural enemy. People go on heartily with associating, and will do what they can to preserve their Government and religion, and the credit of some suspected gentlemen sinks very low. Sir William Williams was put out last night from being of the King's Council.[3]

Mr. Robinson to Lord Lexington.

March 18, $169\frac{5}{6}$.

The news of the great deliverance which it has pleased Almighty God to grant all Europe in the preservation of his Majesty from that execrable plot which

[1] Old style.

[2] Sir John Friend was a merchant of great wealth and high standing in the city, and was, with Sir William Perkins, tried in the beginning of April.

[3] Sir William Williams refused to sign the association. This able lawyer, but versatile politician, was the confidential adviser of Lord Russell, and in 1683 aided Colonel Sidney in his defence. In 1687 he accepted the office of Solicitor-General to James II.; and in 1688 he conducted, with Sir Thomas Powys, the Attorney-General, the prosecution of the Seven Bishops. Sir William Williams was twice elected to the chair of the House of Commons in the reign of Charles II., and was sentenced to pay a fine of 10,000*l.* for a publication authorized by him as Speaker.

his inhuman and treacherous enemy had laid against his life, has had that effect here which it must have wherever there is any sense of honour and honesty. This King, especially, has expressed the utmost joy at the disappointment of that horrid villany, and no less detestation of so hellish a design. Among these Ministers the Count Oxienstern and several others do come up to his Majesty's sentiments, and testify their abhorrence of that devilish contrivance, and are sensible how general and extensive a blessing his Majesty's life is to all Christendom. The greatest favourers of France are ashamed of it, and presume not to say more than what may serve to exempt that King from having had any hand in it; though 't is likely they neither believe so themselves, nor will be able to persuade anybody else. The French Ambassador had so great assurance of the success of the descent, that he published his master's letter to him about it.

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, March 29, 1696, N. S.

The criminations and recriminations between the Prince of Hesse and Marques de Gastanaga about the siege of Palamos have been of late warmly debated in the Council here; and though they are come to no resolution, yet the Prince's case being better understood, seems more favourable than formerly; and, were not the campaign so near, it is believed Gastanaga would be recalled.[1]

[1] The Marques de Gastanaga was shortly afterwards dismissed from his Government.

Mr. Stepney to Lord Lexington.

March $\frac{21}{31}$, 1696.

A fourth post is come without letters from England; however, I take it for granted your Lordship is in no danger of losing your dirty acres: poor I have not so good grounds for apprehension, having little to risk, except my King and my country, and my religion and liberty, which must not be forgot. I cannot forbear sending your Lordship some zealous bad poetry upon the two wicked Kings conspiring against a good one, though I have often swore every folly of this kind shall be my last I need not explain the two allusions to your Lordship: you know Alexander ordered Bessus to be put to death for killing Darius, and Cæsar dethroned Ptolemy for murdering Pompey. The application out of Curtius is as pat as if it had been calculated for our two royal assassins.[1]

(Translation.) Paris, April 6, 1696.

They have named the principal Generals for service during this campaign. The Duc de Vendôme in Catalonia, Catinat in Piedmont, Choiseul on the Rhine, Villeroy and Boufflers in Flanders, with separate commands, Tourville in the Pays d'Aulnis,[2] D'Estrées in Britanny, and Joyeuse in Normandy. Maréchal de

[1] The following are the concluding lines of this "zealous bad poetry:"

"Such were the virtuous maxims of the great;
Free from the servile arts of barbarous hate,
They knew no foe but in the open field,
And to their cause and to the Gods appealed:
So William acts; and if his rivals dare
Dispute his reign by arms, he 'll meet them there,
Where Jove, as once on Ida, holds the scale,
And lets the good, the just, the brave prevail."

[2] The province of Aulnis, or Aunis, of which La Rochelle was the capital.

Vauban returns to the coast. The Duc de Chartres[1] will command the cavalry, and the Prince de Conti the infantry, under Maréchal de Villeroy. The Duc de Maine and the Prince d'Elbœuf will serve under Maréchal de Boufflers as Lieutenant-Generals, and the Comte de Toulouse[2] will command the cavalry there.

(Translation.) Paris, April 9, 1696.

A statement has been prepared by King James's order, the object of which is to clear him from the suspicion of having been concerned in the conspiracy against the life of King William, but the King of France has dissuaded him from publishing it. The illness of the King of Spain causes great anxiety here.

Preparations are in progress on the frontiers, in Catalonia, Guyenne, and Biscay: it appears that if France should see no prospect of succeeding in her own pretensions, she would join with the Elector of Bavaria, rather than permit the Emperor to dispose of the Crown of Spain.[3]

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, April 12, 1696, N. S.

Our Queen mother[4] here is very ill with a cancer in her breast, which it seems she has long concealed, but is now forced to declare is much worse by the use of many remedies which that disease will not admit; if

[1] Afterwards the Regent Duke of Orleans.

[2] The third son of Louis XIV. by Madame de Montespan.

[3] It will be remembered, that by the first treaty of Partition, signed in 1698, Louis XIV. consented that Spain and the Indies should be allotted to the son of the Elector of Bavaria.

[4] Maria Josepha of Austria, eldest daughter of Ferdinand III., and sister to the Emperor Leopold. She was, at first, affianced to Balthazar Charles, Prince of Spain; but on his death, espoused his father, Philip IV.

she should die, it will make a great change in this court, where many of the great men are restrained within due bounds only by the great respect they have for her. Our differences with this court remain in the same state here, nor do my last letters from England bring me any new orders.

Sir William Trumbull to Lord Lexington.

April 3, 1696.[1]

We are still very busy in examining and searching into this horrid conspiracy, which is thoroughly owned, in all parts of it, by Sir William Perkins's confession to the Committee of the House of Commons who went to examine him, as the invasion is, by Sir John Friend, to the same persons: both of them have been executed to-day.[2]

Mr. Stepney to Lord Lexington.

Frankfort, April $\frac{11}{21}$, 1696.

Without doubt your Lordship knows that the match is broke off betwixt Prince Charles[3] and the

[1] There is a copy of this letter in the State Paper Office, which bears the date of the 29th of March. The original, however, is dated as above.

[2] Collier, Snatt, and Cook, three nonjuring clergymen, attended them to the scaffold, and absolved them in the view of the populace with an imposition of hands. They were themselves indicted for having, by this act, countenanced treason: the first absconded, but the two latter were committed to Newgate. The two metropolitans and twelve bishops published a declaration, condemning the administration of absolution without a previous confession made, and abhorrence expressed by the prisoners, of the heinous crimes for which they suffered.

Vide Smollett's 'Hist. of England' and Burnet's 'History of his own Times.'

Rookwood, Lowick, Cranbourn, and Knightley were next tried; they were all convicted, and the three first executed. The last was pardoned.

[3] Prince Charles Philip of Neuburgh, heir presumptive to his brother the Elector Palatine, who had

Countess of Hohenlohe, who is to receive, in lieu of her husband, a pension of 5000 crowns as long as she continues unmarried. The Elector Palatine pays 3000 and the Empress 2000: if she be honestly paid, she has no bad bargain of it. When the Prince passed through this town, the lady eclipsed, for fear she might by her presence revive the embers; but as soon as his back was turned, our lady appeared again in all her brightness. They both seem gay and well satisfied, which gives me no great opinion of their passion; at least they put a good face outwards, and their love is not unlike mine, which is warm enough for the time it lasts, but afterwards gives me very little disquiet. The father, Count Hohenlohe, is at Nuremberg.

Weser's brother, the Jesuit, who, under the title of Baron Nierendorf, has been trying to bring over the Princess Royal of Denmark, has had as little success at Copenhagen as their fool, Father Wolf, had at Stockholm, and is come hither to meet his brother[1] as he returns from Vienna. Some say he is to go to Rome, to try if the Pope will dispense with the King of the Romans having this Princess, though she should continue heretic; but I believe he is designed for Stutgard, to try if that Princess[2] has not a conscience more flexible than the other two. I have moved the Landgraff several times to tell me positively if he will meet the

no children. He married firstly, Louisa Charlotte, daughter of Prince Radzivil, and widow of Louis, Margrave of Brandenburgh; she died in 1695; and Prince Charles married, secondly, in 1701, Theresa Catharine, daughter of Prince Lubomirsky.

[1] Count Weser was Chancellor to the Elector Palatine.

[2] Princess Everhardine Louise of Wurtemburgh, sister to the reigning Duke, and niece to Duke Frederic Charles of Wurtemburgh, who was taken prisoner by the French in 1692.

Margraff here or not.[1] He says coldly, if the *raison de guerre demande ainsi*, he will; but the day before I left him at Wavern (where we were a hern-hawking) he seemed well enough disposed, and Baron Görtz[2] and I shall have time enough to work upon him before Prince Louis has taken his tour to Güntzburgh and Schlachwehrt. When they come together, Prince Louis must avoid talking as a dictator (as he uses to do), which are airs that do not agree with our Prince, who is really of a very good disposition, but must be used gently. You will find by the English letters that the plot is got among you Lords, and hatchets may be in fashion as well as halters. Good God! who would have thought my devout Lord Aylesbury should have been drawn into such wicked councils,[3] and that your friend Lord Nottingham should so soon become the most violent man in England against the King's interest?[4] I almost wish he had been of Charnock's as-

[1] The Landgrave aimed at the command of an independent army on the Rhine, and refused either to serve himself or to allow his troops to serve under Prince Louis, Margrave of Baden.

[2] This acute and versatile diplomatist was, at this time, in the service of the Landgrave of Hesse; his subsequent career as minister to Charles XII. of Sweden, and his violent death, are well known.

[3] Thomas Bruce, Earl of Aylesbury and Elgin, was, with Lord Montgomery (the son of the Marquis of Powis) and Mr. Cooke, arrested on the charge of having advised King James to invade the kingdom. They were not, however, accused of any participation in the assassination plot. Mr. Cooke was tried and convicted, but his punishment was commuted to perpetual banishment. Lord Aylesbury was soon released upon bail, probably by the interposition of the Duke of Shrewsbury, to whom he was related; he then retired from England. Lord Montgomery, however, remained for some time longer in confinement in the Tower.

[4] When the association was discussed in the House of Lords, Lord Nottingham objected to the words "rightful and lawful King," as inapplicable to William. This expression was altered, at the suggestion of Lord Rochester, but the words proposed by him conveyed the same meaning; and Lord Nottingham's

sembly, that he might suffer for treason; but he knows the laws too well, and goes no further than he can do with safety. I send you an extract of a letter from old Blancart (whom all the world knows), that you may see a pleasant discourse between him and Scarlatti,[1] and may make your reflections on Auersperg's project, which is odd, but very seasonable to save the bacon of the Catholics.

Mr. Hill[2] writes me word his diligent predecessor (Bob Wolseley) still keeps his post at Brussels, and will not be relieved. He is like Langston (the fat sea-captain), who, being surrounded by bailiffs who would hurry him to jail, laid himself down on the floor, and bid them remove him if they could, which they could not; so I believe Hill must contrive some engine to clear the way, and when Bob is ransomed he is to be sent to Florence, for the sake of those wines. I wish the King had occasion of a minister in Champagne, that I might put in for the employment, though I fear your Lordship would carry it from me, having a stronger interest.

name is to be found among those of the fifteen peers who at first declined to sign the association. There is, however, no ground for believing that he was engaged in a Jacobite conspiracy, either at this time or any other period.

[1] The Abbé Scarlatti, brother of the Bavarian minister in England.

[2] Mr. Hill was educated for the church, and took deacon's orders; he was at this time deputy paymaster of the troops, and succeeded Mr. Wolseley as Envoy to the Elector of Bavaria at Brussels. On the conclusion of the treaty of Ryswick, Mr. Hill was sent to the Court of Savoy; and on his return to England, he was appointed a Lord of the Treasury. It appears from Mr. Vernon's letters to the Duke of Shrewsbury (edited by Mr. James), that Mr. Hill was at one time named for the office of Secretary of State; but no such appointment was made. In the reign of Queen Anne Mr. Hill was again despatched to Turin.

Late in life he resumed his clerical character, took priest's orders, and became a Fellow of Eton. It is said that a bishopric was offered to him, but that he refused it.

Extract of a Letter from M. Blancart to Mr. Stepney.

(Translation.) London, $\frac{\text{April 6,}}{\text{March 27,}}$ 1696.

This Harris will be a good witness; he was one of King James's guards, and has been in France; he says that he knows well that King Louis and King James had a perfect knowledge of the plot for the assassination of the King, and no one here doubts that they were the authors of it. I have therefore suggested to the Abbé Scarlatti, who has interest at Rome, that, for the honour of the Roman Church, the Pope should excommunicate King James, who, although he professes to be a devotee, is in truth an assassin and a parricide. He said that Parliament should petition the Pope to take this step, and he believed that he would do it; but I replied that this would not be the regular course, and that the late Pope, Innocent XI.,[1] who was an honest man, would, unsolicited, have excommunicated these two Kings. Count Auersperg, the Emperor's Envoy here, endeavours to persuade the English priests and other papists to sign a declaration of their fidelity to the King and the Government, and of their abhorrence of the hateful maxim that a Protestant King may be assassinated. He says that if they refuse to do so, he will himself urge their banishment from the kingdom. I have told him that he will fail, at least with most of them, but he, and the Baron Scarlatti (the Envoy of the Elector of Bavaria), and the President de la Tour, the Minister of Savoy, continue to press

[1] Cardinal Odescalchi was elected Pope in 1676, and took the title of Innocent XI. He firmly refused to admit to bishoprics many of those who were recommended to him by Louis XIV., and in consequence thirty dioceses were vacant at his death in 1689.

the point. They have requested the Spanish Ambassador and the Envoy of Portugal to join them in a design which is in itself so good, and which, if it succeed, will save the Roman Catholics in England from many calamities.

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, April 26, 1696, N. S.

Queen Mother grows daily worse and worse in her breast, which has opened and voided blood and corrupt matter, with intolerable pain, yet says that does not so much trouble her as the uncertain state she is likely to leave Spain in as to the succession, and has recommended most earnestly to the King and Counsellors of State, her creatures, to give her the satisfaction of seeing that important point settled before she dies; and by what I can hear has declared herself in favour of the Archduke[1] preferably to all other pretenders. The Emperor interposes his offices so warmly in the differences between this Court and ours, as to the ministers, that I hope to hear it will be speedily accommodated to the satisfaction of both parties.

Lord Galway to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Turin, $\frac{\text{April 27,}}{\text{May 7,}}$ 1696.

I have the honour to send you a list of the troops which the French destine for Piedmont.[2] We had

[1] The Archduke Charles, second son of Leopold I., and the unsuccessful competitor with Philip of Anjou for the crown of Spain, succeeded to the Austrian dominions on the death of his brother, Joseph I., in April, 1711, and was crowned Emperor in December the same year.

[2] According to this list the army destined for Piedmont consisted of 93 squadrons of cavalry, and 90 battalions of infantry.

thought that their plans had been changed since the discovery of the conspiracy in England, but we were deceived. The enemy will march into this country with a powerful army, and we have every reason to fear that some great movement is now in contemplation. We have here 27,000 infantry and 9000 horse to oppose them: indeed, my Lord, we have great need of reinforcements.

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, May 10, 1696, N. S.

This Court is at present in great trouble for Queen Mother's illness, which is now thought without hope; she has taken all the Sacraments, and this day made her will. As the last remedy they brought her this day our Lady of Atocha,[1] famous for miracles; notwithstanding which porters laden with black bags are hasting about the streets, and 't is believed she will scarce outlive this night. I will not descant on the consequences, but his Imperial Majesty will lose in her a good friend as well as a sister, which a little time will show. The French fleet from Toulon passed the Strait the 1st inst. Don Francisco de Velasco, Governor of Cadiz, is named Viceroy of Catalonia in place of Marques Gastanaga, who is recalled; he has twice excused himself, and he has reason, for Cadiz is more profitable.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, May 12, 1696.

We have a report that one of the rebel Bashaws of Asia has defeated a party of the Grand Seignor's army,

[1] Atocha is a corruption of the Greek word θεοτοκος (mother of God).

consisting of 4000 horse, and cut them off every man; but it wants confirmation. The Generals are all going to the rendezvous near Buda, and the Elector [1] goes the end of next week. I believe most people here are persuaded that they will undertake some siege, either that of Belgrade or Temeswar; but I am afraid 't will end like last year, for we have the same Generals, the same factions and disunion, and the same want of everything; and what is worse, the fleet, without which nothing can be done, cannot be in readiness till the middle of June. The Muscovites are labouring all they can to be included in the Grand Alliance against the Turks; but they will find it difficult, because 't is thought their pretensions may be an obstruction to the peace, and the diversion they can make can never be worth it. [2]

(Translation.) Paris, May 18, 1696.

I send you a statement of the numbers of the French armies:—

	Infantry.	Cavalry.
Flanders and the Meuse .	173 battalions.	223 squadrons.
Italy	94 „	83 „
Germany	40 „	111 „
Catalonia	26 „	37 „
Normandy . . .	5 „	6 „
Total . . .	338 battalions.	460 squadrons.

[1] The Elector of Saxony had consented to resume the command of the Imperial troops in Hungary.

[2] Such was the estimate of the power of Russia in 1696; nor was it so absurd at the time as it now appears. It will be remembered that the career of Peter the Great had scarcely commenced, and he had been repulsed in his first attack upon Azoph.

(Translation.) Paris, May 21, 1696.

They say that Maréchal de Villeroy has full authority to offer battle, and to act as circumstances may require, without waiting for orders from the Court. I know not what may have occasioned this report, but I am sure that there is no foundation for it. It is a constant maxim with this Court not to allow Generals any discretionary power in matters which may affect the safety of the State; and should this rule be relaxed, it will not be in favour of Maréchal de Villeroy, whose reputation at present does not stand sufficiently high.

Mr. Cressett to Lord Lexington.

Brookhusen, May 12, 1696.

The Duchess [1] dined with her daughter [2] in coming to this place, which has occasioned much discourse to little purpose. Her prison has been so close since her first confinement that she has never yet taken the air; it may be some liberty may be allowed in time.

Pensionary Heinsius to Lord Lexington and Mr. Heemskerck.

(Translation.) The Hague, May 22, 1696.

I have received the King's commands to communicate to you an event of importance which has lately occurred. M. de Callières, who had arrived here on a tour through this country, [3] expressed a desire

[1] The Duchess of Zell.

[2] The Princess Sophia Dorothea.

[3] This is a curious expression; it is, however, a literal translation of the words in the original, and was clearly adopted because it would have been inconvenient (especially after the recent denial that any negotiation with Callières was in progress) to avow the true reason of his journey to

to state the conditions on which the King his master would be willing to conclude a general peace; and suggested to MM. de Boreel [1] and de Dyckvelt that the two Treaties, [2] with certain alterations, might serve as the foundation for the new negotiations. [3] On the King's arrival, [4] and as soon as this proposal was communicated to him, he resolved at once to impart it to his Imperial Majesty; and accordingly he gave directions that it should be made known to the Comtes de Kaunitz, de Straatman, and d'Auersperg, in order that they might give an account of it, in confidence, to their Court; but the King desires that you should also

Flanders; but it affords an additional proof that a correspondence had been maintained with Callières subsequently to the refusal of the terms offered by him in 1695.

[1] Burgomaster of Amsterdam, and afterwards one of the Dutch Plenipotentiaries at Ryswick.

[2] Of Westphalia and Nimeguen; the former concluded in 1648, the latter in 1678-9.

[3] The principal alterations suggested were as follows:—The retention by France of Luxemburgh and Strasburgh, for both of which, however, equivalents were to be given. Louis XIV. offered to restore to the Elector Palatine the territories of which he had been despoiled, with an assurance that the pretensions of the Duchess of Orleans to the allodial possessions of the House of Zimmeren should be prosecuted according to the ordinary forms of law. He further offered the restitution of the Duchy of Deux Ponts to the King of Sweden, and the re-establishment of the Duke of Savoy in his dominions. The following principalities, duchies, counties, towns, and territories, also were to be restored to their rightful owners: Veldents, Boswyler, La Mark, Marmoutier, Dochtenstein Linnang, Ausburgh, Zalm, Languestein, Lutselburg, Altheim, Othwiler, Montbeliard, Ericourt, Blamont, Chastelet, Germersheim, Stadeck, Lamsberg, and Dinant in the state in which it was taken. A promise was given that the claims of the Duke of Lorraine should be favourably considered during the negotiations; and lastly, the King of France pledged himself to acknowledge William III. as King of England without any restriction, condition, or reserve, before the treaty was signed. It was in this last point (in which alone England was directly interested) that these proposals materially differed from those which were rejected in 1695.

[4] William remained in England until all fear of invasion had been removed by the arrival in the Channel of the Mediterranean fleet under Sir George Rooke.

communicate it to his Imperial Majesty or to his Ministers, as you may think best.

The King is of opinion that, since the Allies have deliberated so long on the form of the negotiation, and hitherto without arriving at any conclusion, it would be unwise, now that both sides have shown a desire to discover some expedient, to neglect this opportunity; and he thinks that they should avail themselves of it as far as may be deemed proper. They will thus discover the views of France, and they may enter upon the consideration of the preliminaries; above all, they will be able to decide upon the best mode of conducting the principal negotiation.

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, May 24, 1696, N. S.

My last, of Queen Mother's dangerous illness, would prepare you for the news of her death, which an extraordinary to your Court on this occasion must bring you before this. She has left to her son, the Queen, and her grand-child [1] Prince of Bavaria, her three best jewels; to the Emperor [2] a devout picture she brought with her from Germany to Spain; all her other jewels to be divided among her servants, according to their respective stations in her service; and that none of those who had the managing her money be called to

[1] So in the original: but the relationship, which is very complex, is scarcely correctly described. Joseph Ferdinand, Prince of Bavaria, on whom the succession to the crown of Spain was settled by the first treaty of partition in 1698, was the son of the Elector of Bavaria, by Maria Antoinetta, the daughter of the Emperor Leopold by his first wife (who was also his niece), Margaret Theresa of Spain. The Prince therefore was great grandson and grand-nephew to the Queen Mother of Spain, and stood in the latter relation also to her son, Charles II.

[2] Her brother and son-in-law.

account; several legacies to royal convents, and fifty thousand masses to be said for her soul. She was carried out last Sunday night to be buried in the Escurial. The procession was very mean for so great a Queen, but it seems she desired it should be so. Since her death she is said to have done a miracle already: a nun, who had been lame above eight years, so as not to stir without crutches, had such confidence in her Majesty's sanctity that she sent to beg anything that she had worn next her person, with a firm belief it would cure her. They sent her a piece of a waistcoat the Queen had on when she died, which the nun no sooner applied to her hips but strength returned to them; she threw away her crutches, and is as well as ever in her life. A few such as these may in time canonize her Majesty. Don Francisco de Velasco, Governor of Cadiz, has at length, much against his will, accepted the Viceroyship of Catalogne, which he is like to enjoy peaceably this campaign, for the French have drawn away most of their forces to Piedmont; and though we shall have a good army there, yet shall be very glad to be quiet if our enemies will let us alone.

Lord Galway to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Camp de Moncallier, May $\frac{15}{25}$, 1696.

The enemy are scarcely four hours' march from Turin, and if they have advanced to-day they are got nearer. The army consists of more than sixty battalions of infantry, and at least eighty squadrons of cavalry. We reckon that they outnumber us by nearly 14,000 men. His Royal Highness has sent me hither with 6000 infantry, and the cavalry has been ordered

to Carmagnoles under General St. Croix and the Duc d'Alceste. His Royal Highness is at Turin with the Marques de Leganes, the Prince de Commercy,[1] and M. de Comignies; they have three battalions of infantry and 2000 horse encamped behind Turin. We shall there await the movements of the enemy, and if any reinforcements should be sent to us, we shall be in a position to avail ourselves of them.[2]

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, May 26, 1696.

The Elector of Saxony went away last Tuesday to Buda, where the whole army already is, and the siege of Temeswar is actually resolved. I wish them good success, but I own I very much fear, the preparations for such an enterprise being but slenderly made, the Generals all at disunion, and I believe some of them so inveterate, that they would rather the whole business should miscarry than that Caprara, who commands again, should succeed. The Turk will be very strong, and early, this year in the field, so that if he come upon them before they have made an end of their siege, when they are harassed and fatigued and their army diminished, I do not know what the consequence may be: I wish it may not be the hazarding of all.

[1] Charles François de Lorraine, Prince of Commercy, the friend and companion in arms of Prince Eugene, was killed at the battle of Luzara in 1702. He was the son of François Marie de Lorraine, Prince de Lillebone.

[2] The Duke of Savoy was apparently in imminent danger of being overwhelmed by the invading army; but he had himself suggested to the King of France that an overpowering force should be sent into Piedmont, in order that he might have a sufficient excuse for concluding a separate peace.— *Vide* Mémoires de Tessé.

Prince Eugene went away the day before yesterday,[1] and all he could get for the payment of the whole army, which is near two years behind hand, was an assignation for 100,000 florins upon a fund of money to be borrowed at Genoa, when they can get it.

Mr. Robinson to Lord Lexington.

Stockholm, May 30, 1696.

I sent your Lordship on the 23rd a copy of the memorial which Count Staremberg and Baron de Heckeren lately presented about the succours, upon which subject they were called to conference on the 27th, and told that the French Ambassador had made a declaration in his master's name concerning the re-establishment of the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen, the which was offered them, but they refused to receive it, having no orders so to do, or go farther than to receive his Majesty's answer to their memorial, which was sent to them yesterday. The substance of it is that this King tells them that the French King having by his Ambassador declared that he will desire no alterations in the said treaties but such as this King shall find convenable, his Majesty declares thereupon that he will esteem no such alterations convenable as shall be contrary to the said treaties; and thence concludes that this is sufficient to dispense his Majesty from the obligation of sending succours, as also to begin a treaty of peace under his Majesty's mediation. This step seems to promise some good effect, which I wish it may have. In the mean time all our endeavours to keep our merchants here have been ineffectual, but I have found

[1] To rejoin the allied army in Piedmont.

means to retain four or five of them, who will underhand carry on our trade here, though not without much trouble and difficulty.[1]

Lord Galway to Lord Lexington.

Camp de Moncallier, June $\frac{7}{17}$, 1696.

A few days ago Maréchal de Catinat wrote to the Marquis de St. Thomas, stating that he had received orders from the King, his master, to offer once more the restitution of all that his Royal Highness had lost by the war; but that his directions were to lay waste the whole of Piedmont, if his Royal Highness should reject these overtures for peace. He added that the King of France would require that at the conclusion of the peace his Royal Highness should allow a free passage through his dominions to the French troops, and should provide them, at a reasonable price, with everything necessary for their subsistence in order that the war might be carried into the Milanese; and he further stated that if his Royal Highness would consent to join his forces with those of France, for the purpose of compelling Spain to listen to proposals for peace, the conditions which would be offered to him would not only satisfy, but surprise him. Both this letter and the reply of the Marquis de St. Thomas were communicated to us; the latter was written in terms respectful to the King of France, but indefinite as regards the proposals, with the exception, however, of that for the junction of the forces of his

[1] Mr. Robinson refers to the edict, recently published, which forbade foreign merchants to reside in Sweden for more than four months in a year.

Royal Highness with those of France in attacking the Milanese. This was at once rejected as contrary to good faith, and inconsistent with the honour of his Royal Highness, who, as was stated at the end of the letter, was master of his own person and of his own states alone. M. de Catinat has again written, making the same proposals and demanding a more explicit answer. The Marquis de St. Thomas will shortly reply in terms similar to those of his former letter, adding however that his Royal Highness will send couriers to his Allies to communicate to them that which has passed, and that he will propose to the Emperor and to his Catholic Majesty a neutrality not only for Piedmont, but for the Milanese and the whole of Italy.[1] Without doubt his Royal Highness will give orders to the Marquis de Prié, at Vienna, to press for the Emperor's consent to this proposal. His Royal Highness appears to wish

[1] The Duke of Savoy had already, on the 30th of the preceding month (May), accepted the terms offered by Louis XIV.; and the Comte de Tessé and M. Grupel had signed a preliminary treaty of offence and defence between their respective masters. By this treaty, which was not, however, ratified until the 30th June, a truce was established for three months, and if the courts of Vienna and Madrid did not within that period accept the neutrality of Italy, the Duke engaged to join his forces with those of France, and, himself taking the command of the combined army, to attack the Allies, and invade the Milanese. The King of France, on the other hand, consented to the marriage of the Duc de Bourgogne with the Princess of Savoy. He ceded to the Duke, Pignerol razed (on the condition that the fortifications should not be restored), and all the French conquests in Savoy, with the exception of Suza and Nice. Any territories which might be acquired by the French Piedmontese army in the Milanese were to be given up to the Duke; and the King of France further engaged to pay to his new ally a monthly subsidy of 100,000 crowns during the remainder of the war, and to aid him in obtaining possession of the whole of the Milanese, in the event of the King of Spain dying without issue. Such were the principal provisions of this treaty; and the terms obtained by the Duke of Savoy undoubtedly were, to use the words of M. de Catinat, such as might well satisfy, if they did not surprise him.

to enter into these negotiations only to gain time, and to avoid the entire ruin of his country, which he is not in a condition to prevent by force of arms; but it is to be feared that he may be thereby drawn into a separate peace.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, June 30, 1696.

All the news we have is that the army is marched directly to Temeswar, and Father Wolf, the Jesuit, is despatched to them with orders and money; by which you see those holy men must have a finger in everything. The Duke of Lorraine,[1] who is as pretty a young gentleman as ever I saw, goes to join them next Monday; he brigues, but underhand, the crown of Poland; the Emperor having declared for Prince Charles of Neuburgh, and the Great Chamberlain, Count Wallestein, is to go Ambassador Extraordinary to assist at the Diet.[2] Young Count Harrach, who

[1] Leopold, Duke of Lorraine and Bar, was the nephew of the Emperor Leopold, whose sister, Eleonora Josepha, married, first, Michael Viesnovitsky, King of Poland; and, secondly, Charles Duke of Lorraine.

[2] John Sobieski, King of Poland, died on the 17th June, 1696, and the vacant throne attracted a crowd of distinguished competitors. First in relationship to the deceased monarch, at least, was Prince James Sobieski, his eldest son. Prince Charles of Neuburgh, the Duke of Lorraine, Prince Louis of Baden, and Don Livio Odescalchi (the nephew of Innocent XI.), each aspired to the crown of Poland; and it was suspected that the Elector of Bavaria awaited a favourable opportunity to declare himself also a candidate. He abstained, however, from entering the lists; meanwhile the Abbé de Polignac (the French minister in Poland), aided by the Cardinal Michel Radzieiowski, Archbishop of Gnesne (who was Regent of the kingdom during the interregnum), strained every nerve to secure the election of the Prince de Conti. Don Livio Odescalchi was, in the first instance, supported by the Emperor, but he speedily retired from a contest in which he found no prospect of success. Prince Louis of Baden, whose chief supporter was the Elector of Brandenburgh, ap-

was at Dresden, is to go into Spain with the compliment upon the death of the Queen Mother, but I believe that is not all his errand, but he will have private instructions about the peace now in agitation. I will do what I can to sound him and find what they are. He designs to go by England, and will have a letter for the King.

Lord Galway to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Camp of Moncallier, July 5, 1696.

You will learn by this courier that M. de Catinat has at length offered to his Royal Highness Pignerol razed, and the marriage of the Duc de Bourgogne with the Princess of Piedmont. These offers are so agreeable to his Royal Highness that he has positively determined to accept them, [1] and all that we have been able to obtain has been the time necessary to inform the Allies of what has occurred, and to propose the neutrality of Italy.

Mr. Blathwayt to Lord Lexington.

Attre, Aug. $\frac{4}{14}$, 1696.

The King did not at all like Count Chinski's proposition, which was to be understood of his keeping

plied to William III. for a loan to enable him to propitiate the Polish nobles; but having failed to obtain the necessary funds, he also withdrew his pretensions. The unpopularity of Prince James, joined to that of his mother, deprived him of all chance of succeeding his father, although the treasure amassed by the late King enabled him to maintain his ground for some time; and neither Prince Charles of Neuburgh, or the Duke of Lorraine, whose father had in 1672 unsuccessfully sought the crown of Poland, was regarded with favour by the Polish nobility. The success therefore of the Prince de Conti at this time appeared almost certain.

[1] The Prince de Commercy chose to regard the Duke's conduct as a personal insult, and sent him a challenge, which was accepted, but the duel was prevented.

up a negotiation between Vienna and Stockholm, and so making himself the umpire of everything; but his Majesty, upon conferring with M. Dyckvelt, and having a better account than was expected of his negotiation with Callières, has resolved to put forward a public treaty of peace.[1]

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, Aug. 15, 1696.

All the discourse of this time rolls upon nothing but the murder of one Count Hallwell, a chamberlain of the Emperor's and son to a counsellor of state, which they say was committed by the Portuguese Ambassador, and, if true, take it with all its circumstances, is one of the most barbarous and unworthy actions that ever was

[1] The Comte d'Avaux had on more than one occasion declared to the King of Sweden that his master was willing to assent to a peace, on terms similar to those of the treaties of Munster and Nimeguen; and William III. had frequently urged the Emperor to improve the opportunity thus afforded of opening a negotiation with France. But the court of Vienna had hitherto refused to comply with this suggestion. The change which was now apparent in the tactics of the two courts did not arise from any change of policy. William III. sincerely desired to terminate hostilities on reasonable terms. The Emperor, on the contrary, feared the re-establishment of amicable relations between France and Spain, and would have preferred the continuance of the war, or, at least, that peace should not be concluded during the life of Charles II. of Spain. Thus when William failed in the attempt to negotiate directly with France, through Callières (in 1694), he suggested the mediation of Sweden; but the court of Austria raised objections to this mode of proceeding. Now that the conferences between MM. de Callières and Dyckvelt promised a favourable result, Count Chinski sought to impede the progress of the negotiation by the establishment of another and separate channel of communication with France, through Charles XI. of Sweden. William was well aware both of the object of the proposal and of its probable result, if it had been carried into effect; and he therefore determined on the step announced by Mr. Blathwayt, although matters were as yet scarcely ripe for it; and in fact, the main preliminary, viz., his recognition as King of England, was but imperfectly settled.

known. The story is thus. The Ambassador had lost at play to this gentleman a very considerable sum of money, which being too great to be paid immediately, he gave him a bond for it. On Thursday last the Ambassador went out in a calèche, with only one horse, and one man in a blue cloak, and went to a tavern by a wood side, where they set up the calèche, and the Ambassador and this man went into the wood on foot, under the pretence of shooting, where they stayed about an hour and then came back. The Ambassador took the calèche and went home, but left the man in blue there, who told the host when he went to bed that the Ambassador would pass that way again in the morning, and desired him to be sure to call him very early, that he might be ready, which accordingly he did. The Ambassador, when he came home, went to the Assembly, where he met Count Hallwell, and told him that now he had received bills from Portugal, and was in a condition of paying him half the debt, and told him that his banker had a pretty house and garden in the country; that in the morning he would call upon him, and that they would go into the woods and shoot till dinner, and then go to dine there, where he would pay him the money. He desired him to be sure to bring the bond with him, that they might endorse the sum that would be paid him. Hallwell accepted the party, and accordingly the Ambassador, very early in the morning, came and called him, and asked whether he had the bond with him. Hallwell would have taken some servants with him, but the Ambassador told him he had no occasion for any; that there was but room for one footman behind the calèche, and, for guns, he would furnish him when they came to the hunting-

place; so they went together, and Hallwell ordered his coach and servants to meet him at the Ambassador's at night. They went to the village where the Ambassador had been over night, and there they heard mass together; afterwards they went to the tavern, and the Ambassador asked if the man in blue was there, and desired them to tell him he was gone, and bid him follow him, which he did, and the host lent him a horse, that he might the more quickly overtake the Ambassador, pretending to be in great haste. About an hour after, the Ambassador came back again to the inn with this man in blue, but without Hallwell, extremely dirty and wet, insomuch that they were forced to clean him and wash him: there he dined and stayed till night, when he came home, but on foot, having quitted his calèche some time before he got thither, which followed him at a good distance. He could not slip in so but Hallwell's servants, who waited for their master, perceived him, and sent to him to desire to know what was become of their master. He sent them word that as they were coming home a gentleman met him upon the road, and proposed a party to go to some baths, which are not far off; that he had quitted him, and was gone with that gentleman, which was all the account he could give of him. In the morning his servants sent linen to him to Baden, but there was no such man to be heard of there, upon which they concluded by all these circumstances that he was made away with; upon which they made a search in all the woods thereabouts, and on Monday, in the evening, he was found hid under a heap of stones in a boggy place, the bond taken from him, his ring, buckles for his sleeves, hat and shirt, which were all of diamonds, and of great value, and his

purse, so that they robbed him as well as murdered him. The Ambassador continues to deny the fact, but the circumstances are shrewd against him, and the Emperor has thought fit to clap a guard upon him, and has sent a courier to Portugal to inform his master of the fact and demand justice, and has sent a compliment to all the foreign ministers to desire them not to look upon the giving him guards as a breach of their privilege, but that it is only to protect him from the fury of the rabble, who are mightily incensed against him, though, in the bottom, 'tis to keep him from making his escape.

Since I writ this I have been at court, and I hear the Ambassador is gone from his house, but nobody knows whither yet.

Mr. Hill to Lord Lexington.

Brussels, Aug. $\frac{21}{31}$, 1696.

Our campaign is at an end, I think, and nobody but M. Dyckvelt busy now. The King is gone to Loo to hunt, and to Cleves to make love,[1] as the folks say. Our Elector[2] commands one of the armies now, and the Prince of Vaudemont the other. The Electress is got up after her lying-in, and therefore the Elector has given her notice of the death of her father.[3]

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, Aug. 31, 1696, N.S.

The campaign seems now ended everywhere, and indeed we have made a very unfortunate one, which is

[1] To the Princess of Brandenburgh, with whom a rumour was current that the King was about to conclude an alliance: but it does not appear that William ever seriously thought of a remarriage.

[2] The Elector of Bavaria.

[3] The late King of Poland.

wholly owing to the disorder of our coin in England, for which I fear it will be no easy matter to secure a remedy for the future. His Catholic Majesty is perfectly recovered of his ague, but the Queen has been dying this fortnight; it began by a surfeit of eel-pie, that put her in a high fever, with convulsion fits. She was given over several days last week, and seems now not in such imminent danger; but so many ill symptoms continue as give more fear than hope for her still.

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Sept. 3, N. S. 1696.

I have let you alone for all the amusements MM. Dyckvelt and Callières have given us this summer, which Mr. Swinford[1] has bantered Mr. Sutton with as much as these two negotiators have done each other; but there is no longer time for jesting; *aux armes* is the word, for the Pensioner declared to the Congress this morning that the effect of these negotiations was that the Grand Monarch would enter into a treaty of peace upon the foundations of those of Westphalia and Nimeguen; and that thereupon the Ministers would do well to write to their masters. As much as I can observe by our Plenipotentiaries, the little ones are inwardly mad that the war is likely to end.[2] Your Imperial brothers made difficulties, as if the treaty of

[1] Probably the same Mr. Swinford who acted as Prior's secretary during his mission to Paris, in 1712.

[2] The secondary Princes of the Empire were, with the exception of those whose territories were exposed to attack from the French, great gainers by the war. They received large subsidies for their troops, and the fear that they might otherwise be tempted to accept the offers, by which France constantly endeavoured to detach them from the league, enabled them to extort various concessions from the Emperor.

Munster and Osnaburg was too large, and ought to be explained, or else it would be subject to misinterpretation (as it has been), and might beget cavils.[1] To this it was answered, that these things would be adjusted after, and that the demand at present was, if, upon these offers, it were not fit and proper to enter into treaty. We have letters to-day from France that the Grand Louis is dangerously ill:[2] (pull to the good Lord). I would fain have the peace very soon, and signed by Louis XV.

Lord Galway to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Camp of Terra Nova, Sept. 3, 1696.

The enemy have hitherto followed the same route by which we marched here. They have to-day constructed a bridge over the Dovaine, and to-morrow we shall enter the Milanese. The negotiation of Count de Mansfelt will fail, and I have already stated to you that there is no alternative but war or the neutrality of all Italy.[3] I have but little knowledge of what is

[1] The preliminaries of the treaty of Munster and Osnaburgh, or Westphalia, were signed in 1641; but the peace was not concluded until 1648; and after the exchange of the ratifications the congress of Nuremburgh was engaged, for two years more, in completing the arrangements prescribed by the treaty. These were of a very complicated and extensive character; some of the provisions were imperfectly carried out, and others had already given rise to repeated disputes.

[2] The King of France submitted to an operation, and speedily recovered.

[3] Count de Mansfelt was despatched by the Emperor to the Duke of Savoy, with instructions to induce him, if possible, to relinquish the negotiation with M. de Catinat. He was empowered to offer to the Duke the Montserrat, on which the Queen of Poland (the Emperor's sister) had claims, and to give him hopes, but no positive assurance, of the marriage of the Princess of Savoy with the King of the Romans. These offers, however, were not equal to those of France, and they had been too long delayed.

passing in Holland, for I have avoided the Duke ever since he declared that if the neutrality be not accepted by the 15th of September, he will join the enemy with his troops. [1]

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Sept. 16, 1696.

His Catholic Majesty has been extreme ill these seven days, which has stopped all couriers and expresses; but, thanks be to God, is now much better by taking the quinquina, yet not so safe as his good subjects wish him. The Queen is extreme ill, though the greater concern for the King makes that now less minded. I was called up to write this at one this morning, the 16th September, 1696. The Conde de Oropesa returned to Court yesterday morning, and kissed the King's hand, and is named by will one of the Governors of the kingdom, in case the King fails; [2] and in the mean time the Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal, [3] despatches all things as the King used to do.

[1] The Duke of Savoy was bound by the Secret Treaty to take this step on the 1st of September; but he had obtained an extension of the time originally fixed until the 15th.

[2] It appears that the unexpected return of the Conde de Oropesa to Court was owing to the mediation of the Cardinal Portocarrero. The will referred to was executed on the 14th inst., and by it the crown of Spain was settled on the Prince of Bavaria.

Vide 'Court of Spain under Charles II. by Lord Mahon,' where a portion of this letter appears.

[3] Portocarrero.

Lord Galway to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Vigevano, $\frac{\text{Sept. } 28}{\text{Oct. } 8}$, 1696.

The Marques de Leganes has at length yielded to the urgent representations of the whole state of Milan, and he has consented to all that the Marquis de St. Thomas has demanded. I enclose a copy of the treaty, which was signed yesterday.[1]

M. de Mansfelt has been obliged to sign it without waiting for the return of Baron Cernier, and without instructions from the Emperor. He was induced to take this step by the Marques de Leganes, who has stated in writing that, since he could no longer continue the war in the Milanese, and saw no other means of saving this state, he took upon himself the responsibility of the act and of obtaining the consent of the Emperor, as well as that of his Catholic Majesty.[2] M. de Mansfelt had, in the first instance, inserted in the preamble of the treaty that the Emperor consented to the withdrawal of his troops from Italy, in order that his Royal Highness might be in a better position to receive proposals from both sides for a general peace; and that his Royal Highness would use his good offices to induce

[1] The treaty of Turin, by which the secret engagements between the King of France and the Duke of Savoy were formally ratified, was signed by the Comte de Tessé and the Marquis de St. Thomas, on the 29th August. On the 17th of September, as the Allies had not accepted the neutrality of Italy, the Duke of Savoy, with his troops, joined the French army at Sartirana, and assumed the command in chief of the combined army. On the 19th Valenza was invested, and the siege was continued until the 8th October, when the treaty of Vigevano put an end to the war in Italy.

[2] The Imperial Ministers assured Lord Lexington, on the departure of Count de Mansfelt from Vienna, that he was not empowered to accept the neutrality; but there was a mystery with regard to his instructions, and it may be doubted whether the assertion was strictly true.

France to enter into this negotiation. On the part of the King, I opposed all mention in this treaty of a general peace. After a dispute, which was both long and warm, the preamble of the treaty was altered, and you will see that the part to which I have referred has been struck out,[1] but I know that the Count de Mansfelt has written on the subject to the Emperor. Between ourselves, my Lord, I think that this Minister only undertook the mission to Piedmont in the hope of drawing hither the negotiation of the general peace, and of obtaining for himself the whole direction of it. I do not believe that the French desire it, or that his Royal Highness cares about it; but, however this may be, as soon as the siege of Valenza is raised and the Duke returns here, the Count de Mansfelt should be recalled. I did not think it right directly to oppose the treaty which was signed yesterday, for, in truth, the affairs of the Milanese are in a miserable condition. But I think that, without our appearing in the matter, or incurring the responsibility of the disasters which may result from the war, the treaty itself will be of no effect. It appears to me that it will be impossible to carry it into execution; and if we are in a position to take advantage of their raising the siege of Valenza, we shall have the game in our hands. It is the interest of the Emperor to retain his troops in Italy. Cernier may very well return from Vienna with instructions contrary to the treaty which was signed yesterday, and his Imperial Majesty may refuse to ratify it. M. de Mansfelt him-

[1] It would appear that the second article in the treaty, as sent to the Emperor for his ratification, did refer to a general peace, and that the Duke of Savoy was thereby invested with a mediatorial character. This article, however, was altered before the treaty was ratified by the Emperor.

self told me yesterday that, in his opinion, it should not be ratified. I hope that his actions are in accordance with his words.[1]

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Oct. 9, 1696, N. S.

The match we have been talking of with Brandenburg will, I think, come to nothing. It was the folly of those people at Clèves that began the discourse, and I think we had vanity enough to let them alone in it. As to my own concerns I have been briguing and flattering at Loo, and, I believe, have brought the matter so far, as that nobody will stand before me in my pretensions to the secretaryship of the embassy; but, my God! what is it I ask or am fond of having? since there is not five pounds to be got out of the Treasury, and I owe five hundred. It would have been better manners to have named your Lordship before me, but we are in a world where no man thinks of anything but himself. What I hear is that wherever the parade of this Embassy may be, the substance of it will be at Vienna, and that your Lordship is too useful there to think, on this occasion, to be removed:[2] this is the terrible effect of doing your duty, and you ought to have had less sense to be signing a treaty amongst

[1] It seems improbable that the Count de Mansfelt should really have advised the rejection of the neutrality. At all events, the Emperor accepted it without hesitation.

[2] Lord Lexington wished to be appointed one of the Plenipotentiaries at the Congress, and the King had expressed an intention of complying with this request; but the difficulties with which the Imperial Ministers obstructed every step in the negotiation rendered it inexpedient that Lord Lexington should quit his post at Vienna.—*Vide* Sir W. Trumbull's Letter to Lord Lexington, December 11th, 1696, p. 234.

others, since you are thought to have enough to do the thing, in effect, alone.

My obedient service is never to be omitted to the fair Secretary; I have but one piece of news for her this time, which is, that my Lady Athlone,[1] being a provident housewife, has at several times killed ten of the stags about Loo, and salted them for her servants, for which the King has fined the dame 600 pounds sterling.

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, Oct. 11, 1696.

Since my last we have had nothing but fiestos, with luminaries, artificial fireworks, &c. for his Catholic Majesty's happy recovery, as also carrying the saints and images to their several churches with great pomp and attendance that had the honour of the cure, although it was the quinquina that did the business. However it was done, his Majesty continues very well, and despatches as formerly. Greater fiestos de Canos are preparing; eight young grandees being the undertakers, who contribute each 1500 dollars, and will perform it with great ostentation. Her Majesty was also much better till yesterday, when she relapsed, and is now, they say, very ill again. The old Condestable[2] died the night I wrote last, and ten days ago the Conde de Oropesa desired his Majesty's leave to retire back into the country, which was a favour readily granted him, and he went out of town the same afternoon; his so

[1] Philpota de Raasfelt, the wife of Godart de Ginckell, Earl of Athlone, was the lady whose economy, in this instance, cost her so dear.

[2] The Duque de Frias, in whose family the office or title of Condestable de Castilla was hereditary.

sudden retreat being as much wondered at as was his unexpected appearance at the bedchamber door in the King's great illness.[1] I am sorry to find by your Lordship's favour of the 8th of September, with the inclosed relation of the battle in Hungary, that my Lord Paget's prognostic of the Grand Seignor proves so true, for he is like to be a very troublesome neighbour: however, this seems only an equal battle, and all the loss the Christians have is only the defeating hereby the hopes of great advantages they promised themselves this campaign.[2]

Mr. Hill to Lord Lexington.

Brussels, Oct. $\frac{16}{26}$, no date but 1696.

Our campaign is ended, and we are all got into our winter-quarters. As to the news of the King's intrigues, I dare say he never thinks of 'em himself. He went to see the Princess of Brandenburgh, because they would have him. Now must I be glad that you have made as ill a campaign[3] as we have done, and I hope you will at last see a necessity of making a peace on the best terms we can. We blame your Court and Ministers for all the delays which are made, and wonder what you mean when you name Basle for a place of conference.

[1] The recovery of the Queen was the cause of the sudden retirement of the Condé de Oropesa. The following passage occurs in a letter from Mr. Stanhope to Mr. Vernon, dated 3rd Oct. 1696:—"That the Queen is likewise past all danger needs no other confirmation than the Condé de Oropesa's going yesterday to his Majesty to desire his leave to retire into the country."—Court of Spain under Charles II.

[2] The battle referred to was fought on the 26th August, near the river Begue. General Heusler was killed in this action.

[3] In Hungary.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, Nov. 7, 1696.

This will bring you the communication that was sent us, since my last, of the Emperor's rejecting the article No. 2[1] in the treaty of the neutrality of Italy, which is a thing that I believe has very rarely or never happened before, that the Emperor should take a resolution of himself, contrary to the opinion of all his council; for so it was, there not being one that opposed it, and those of the chiefest credit violently for it, some, I fear, gained by interest, as I have already told you, others out of ambition and desire of getting the treaty of peace into their direction, not caring which way nor by whom. I dined two or three days ago with the Elector of Saxe, and by a discourse he held with me he gave me to understand that he wished to have the Garter, and that if I intimated so much to the King it would be agreeable to him, which I desire you would be pleased to do, and let me know whether I ought to give him hopes of it, when he comes back, if he speaks to me of it again. I do not know whether the King might not find it his interest to oblige that Prince when a Garter can do it. I fear the business between the Elector Palatine and the Landgrave of Hesse will come to the last extremities;[2] but I do what I can to press

[1] Which referred the mediation for a general peace to the Duke of Savoy.

[2] A dispute had arisen between the Elector Palatine and the Landgrave of Hesse, with regard to the winter quarters of the Hessian troops. These two Princes were predisposed to quarrel: each aspired to the co-directorship, with the Bishop of Worms, of the circle of the Upper Rhine. The Elector claimed the office as heir and successor of the House of Zimmeren, while the Landgrave contended that the Electors Palatine of that branch had been invested with the dignity as Protestant Princes, and not by

the Emperor to interpose his authority to prevent it, which he might do with only one vigorous word, speaking to the Elector Palatine; but the partiality of this Court is so great to that House, that I almost despair of it, though the Emperor is in all the engagements possible to maintain the Landgrave in his quarters till the end of the war.

Mr. Stepney to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Nov. $\frac{15}{5}$, 1696.

I always looked upon old Leopold to be wiser than all his Privy Council, and infinitely more honest to the cause we serve. I hear he dashed out with his own hand the clause[1] which deferred the mediation to the Duke of Savoy. And it is no ordinary merit in your Lordship to have set the good gentleman right in the thoughts he ought to have had of that matter. When a girl marries herself without her parents' consent, she can have no pretence to their assistance if she apprehends the husband whom she has foolishly chosen should beat and abuse her; at least the parents would be more foolish than she, if, instead of disgracing and disinheriting her for her disobedience, they should reward her for it, and encourage her for throwing herself away, by putting it in her hands to ruin them likewise. This (as I take it) is the state of the question; and between economics and politics the comparison holds. I have made the compliments your Lordship ordered me to my Lord

virtue of their electorate; that the present Elector was disqualified as a Roman Catholic from holding the office, and that the Protestants were entitled to choose a Prince of their own religion to succeed to it. This was only one of the many causes of contention which at this time threatened to disturb the internal peace of the Empire.

[1] In the treaty of Vigevano.

Villiers, who expects the papers you promise of your last conference. I really think both his Lordship and my Lady[1] very good people to live withal; and by the respect he bears your Lordship (which I speak sincerely) I do not doubt but you will pull very easily together; and for your comfort, and likewise for the good of the negotiation, I heartily wish the third[2] may be a friend to both of you. As yet I cannot guess who he may be, for both Sir William Trumbull and our friend Mr. Blathwayt seem to avoid it; but I see no help but one of them must come to. Both of them, as likewise Father Vernon (in the name of Duke Shrewsbury), give me assurances that, when your Lordship is called away, I may relieve you; but this depends on many accidents, therefore I neither depend on it nor mention it; and let them take their own time and measures when and what they will do with me. And for the present I am resting my bones, and am extremely satisfied with the indolent life I have at the Hague. We had great doings last night at my Lord Villiers's: a noble entertainment, a very orderly ball, and, towards two in the morning, a masquerade. I know not if the French Admirals understand sailing and fighting better than ours do, but I am certain none of them dance so well as our Lord Carmarthen.

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Nov. $\frac{17}{27}$, 1696.

I ought by last post to have acknowledged that with which your Lordship honoured me of the 3rd, but I should then have been able only to give you an im-

[1] Barbara, daughter of William Chiffinch, closet-keeper to King Charles II.

[2] Plenipotentiary.

perfect account of what, to my vexation, I know more fully now, which is the manner in which Callières chicanes about owning the King. Dyckvelt has hitherto understood by him that he should now, in the preliminaries, tell the mediator that he would own his Majesty in the treaty; but he now says, that though he will own him in the treaty, and never imagined the peace could be made without his doing so, yet he has no order to do it in the preliminaries. Your Lordship sees that, unless this difficulty be overcome, it is impossible to proceed in any other point; and this Dyckvelt was yesterday charged to tell Callières, as the opinion of the whole Congress. It is yet very dubious what France may mean by this way of proceeding: since at the same time their Ministers are named, and, if they are not on the road towards Mons in order to their coming to these parts, it is because we have not here consented to the naming the place of treaty,[1] and have denied them passports till it is resolved whither they are to steer their course. God knows if the preparations at Brest, which are pretty considerable, are meant against England; and if that be the occasion of their shuffling in the negotiation, or if this scruple they make about the King's title be the last essay they will ever give to King James of their affection to his interests, and to *faire semblant* that they have done all that was possible for him, so that he must be satisfied if the peace be made, we shall see in some little time. In the meanwhile, I may say to my dear Lord that Dyckvelt has not, I think, negotiated either solidly or

[1] The Court of Vienna objected successively to every place which was named for the meeting of the Congress; and indeed employed every artifice to obstruct the progress of the negotiations.

warmly enough; but may be, this opinion is only the effect of a poetical constitution. His Excellency Stepney is here still, but going towards Frankfort to hinder broken heads, for winter-quarters, and to stand between the Hessians and Palatines to see fair play, like Vinegar in the ring at Lincoln's Inn Fields. He does not like the simile, and I told him I would see if you did or no. My Lord Frize is expected every day, to the great joy of his domestique. My Lady is in the right to lay down the Secretaryship, when there is no money and difficult business. I am always her obedient servant in whatever quality she pleases to take. I hope to see her shortly, with a sweeping tail and a grave look, confronting Madame Courtin in the qualification of Madame l'Ambassadrice: and I suppose her bag here may contain a topknot or *engageants* towards that negotiation.

Mr. Blathwayt to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Nov. $\frac{20}{30}$, 1696.

As to the Garter which the Elector of Saxony seems to desire, his Majesty allows your Lordship to give him hopes of it when he shall renew that discourse, when he returns to Vienna, or otherwise asks your Lordship's opinion about it; by which your Lordship may understand that it is not intended he should have it immediately, but deserve it first by a hearty engagement in the common cause, of which there is a great likelihood since the death of Schoning. Your Lordship will understand, among other things, that Sir Joseph Williamson[1] was sworn of the Privy Council. His

[1] Sir Joseph Williamson was the son of a country clergyman. His talents and acquirements, and especially his knowledge of foreign languages, obtained for him when young a subordinate post in the Secretary

services in Parliament have indeed deserved it; but, if one may judge at random, this honour may be followed by a Plenipotentiaryship, and perhaps by a better thing, if the Duke of Shrewsbury's illness should continue upon him.

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Dec. 7, 1696.

We have at length got our treaty signed with Denmark, which interdicts all commerce between that kingdom and France,[1] and may probably prevent M. Bonrepos[2] from doing much harm when he gets to Copenhagen. I wish to God it may hasten our treaty. I believe there may be need enough of all helps since Callières is mute in the great point [the manner of acknowledging the King], and we talk of no less than breaking off entirely with him unless he comes to himself before next Congress-day. If the treaty goes on, there is another point that I wish secured, which is my Lord Lexington's being Plenipotentiary. I know nothing of Sir Joseph,[3] but methinks it looks as if he were designed that way—at least, as well as I can judge at this distance. But I will not doubt but that your

of State's office. In 1673 he was selected to accompany Lord Sunderland and Sir Leoline Jenkins to the Congress of Cologne; and in the following year he was appointed Secretary of State. In 1678 Sir J. Williamson was committed to the Tower by the House of Commons for having countersigned fifty-seven military commissions which had been granted to Papists. He resigned the seals and retired into private life; but having, as Mr. Stepney said, "dived like a duck for twenty years," he was, shortly after the date of this letter, appointed one of the Plenipotentiaries for the Peace.

[1] This treaty was kept secret, in the hope that the subsidies by which France had purchased the neutrality of Denmark might be continued; but the suspicions of the French Court were aroused, and M. Meyercroom, the Danish minister at Paris, was unable to obtain them.

[2] The minister of France at the Danish Court.

[3] Sir Joseph Williamson.

interest is sure, for tallies and strange masters are too much; and, as formerly, "there rose up a king that did not know Joseph," so may be there may now rise up Joseph that does not know me.

Lord Villiers to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Dec. 11, N. S., 1696.

I am glad to tell you that I think Callières will at last own the King as he should do. He acknowledges that he has his master's orders to finish this point, and accordingly met our negotiators last night, to agree upon the terms in which it should be done to the mediator. So that I hope, if the Emperor will send his consent for Utrecht,[1] it will not be long before we are ready to go thither.

Mr. Stepney to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Dec. $\frac{4}{14}$, 1696.

To answer your Lordship's question on what funds my tallies are, and what I am to give for discount, I must be allowed to make grievous complaints, for I believe we are all used alike, and that very barbarously. Our tallies were struck together, so I suppose they are upon the old fund, Excise and Customs, which is all I know of the matter, for their other names are words of art, and a sort of conjuration which, I fear, we shall learn in time, but much to our loss. Like a puppy, I have hitherto run out my little ready money, in hopes this wooden estate (considering the interest which the

[1] The Emperor refused his consent. It would appear, from Clarke's 'Memoirs of James II.,' that about this time that Prince sent, with the sanction of Louis XIV., an agent to Vienna, to propose to the Emperor a separate peace on terms more advantageous than any which he could hope to obtain in a general treaty; but the negotiation failed.

Lord Lexington does not mention this intrigue in any of his letters.

King allows upon it) would turn to great advantage at long run, but I find myself sadly mistaken, for whereas, formerly, I could have disposed of my tallies at 12 or 16 per cent. discount, I must now give 40 or 45 per cent., which is intolerable. Hitherto I have sold none, having struggled with my private fortune and some part of my sister's, in hopes they would come to more moderate rates, and I fear I have ruined myself by that seeming good husbandry. Since April last I have been forced to pay in hard money to my bankers 3000*l.* sterling, being obliged to a double expense by my travelling commissions and campaign charges; and when I demand that my extraordinaries, at least, should be paid in ready, they answer me there is no such thing in the treasury, and I must take timber for payment. What is still worse, by his Majesty's commands I arrested an officer and threw him into gaol at Maestricht, where I maintain him still by his Majesty's commands, and instructions from the Secretary, and even this expense is reimbursed by tallies. It will have been 1500*l.* sterling out of my pocket to have been employed this year.

Lord Villiers to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Dec. 18, N. S., 1696.

The progress we make towards finishing our preliminaries here cannot be very great whilst the Court of Vienna gives such contradictory orders to their Ministers here. The step which M. Staremberg has made at Stockholm [1] is very extraordinary, since it was agreed

[1] Count Staremberg had announced that, in consideration of the declaration of the Comte d'Avaux at Stockholm, and without reference to the negotiations which were in progress at the Hague, the Emperor was prepared to accept the mediation of the King of Sweden.

here by all parties that the mediation should not be required till the preliminaries were adjusted. Sweden is so far off that there is not much credit to be given to news that comes from thence; at least France says that Comte d'Avaux never had orders to own the King,[1] though Callières has now agreed to declare in the preliminaries that his master will own his Majesty at the signing the treaty. Yesterday President Canon took his place in the congress; he desires that the business of Lorraine may be treated of in the preliminaries, and our negotiators have directions to speak to Callières about it.[2]

Sir William Trumbull to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Dec. 11, 1696.

Upon the advances made in Holland by M. Callières towards a general peace, his Majesty has thought fit to name for his plenipotentiaries the Lord Privy Seal,[3] the Lord Villiers, and Sir Joseph Williamson;

[1] On the 2nd of November, the birth-day of the Queen of Sweden, the Comte d'Avaux, for the first time, yielded to William the title of King of England: and a few days afterwards he informed Count Staremberg, that, as the discussion on the preliminaries had been commenced in Holland, he was instructed to recognise the King.

[2] President Canon was the minister of the young Duke of Lorraine. The Emperor had obtained from the Allies a promise that the settlement of the claims of the Duke of Lorraine should be one of the preliminary points to be arranged before the general provisions of the treaty were discussed. But France positively refused to accede to this demand, and William III. declined to press it.

[3] Thomas Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, filled various high offices of state in the reign of William III. and of Anne. His eccentric appearance and manners caused him to be known by the sobriquet of "Long Tom;" but he possessed considerable abilities. He formed the splendid collection of medals called by his name. Mackay states, that "Lord Pembroke was a good judge in all the several sciences, a great encourager of learning and of learned men, a lover of the constitution of his country without being of a party, and yet esteemed by all parties."

and though he believes he may make use of your Lordship at the congress, yet the service you do his Majesty at Vienna is so considerable that he cannot at present spare you from thence without great prejudice to his affairs, which is the true reason why your Lordship is not one of them.

Mr. Stepney to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Dec. 30, 1696.

It is a plain case that Kings and masters will do as they please, and I hope your Lordship is armed with temper enough to bear the disappointment of not writing your name under our treaty of peace, which is all any English Ambassador could have pretended to, for we have nothing to ask of France, nor France of us.

I own to be treated with "Excellency" at so famous a congress would have been a feather in your cap; but the wiser part of the world will know that my Lord Lexington at Vienna will have more business on his hands than our triumvirate, and will conclude he might have been a sauntering Ambassador if he had not been so able an Envoyé. Upon my soul, I believe this is the King's meaning (and your Lordship's case is the same with that of Comte d'Avaux and M. Heckeren in Sweden), for his Majesty cannot but be sensible of your services, and will certainly consider them by something more solid. Give me leave, therefore, to preach up to you patience, perseverance, and obedience; and remember we have to do with a Prince who will go his own way. Add a bottle to your ordinary dose, and I 'll give you my neck if your Lordship, within a fortnight, does not agree with me that it is to your advantage that

matters go on as they have done. I am of opinion passive obedience, in point of politics, is a wiser maxim than it is in religion, and if you resolve to go on cheerfully, I am assured your Lordship will be called into the vineyard at the eleventh hour, and have an equal reward with those who began at seven.

Mr. Vernon to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Dec. 25, 1696.

I send you a list of Lords as they stood upon the late division, when Sir John Fenwick's bill passed.[1]

[1] Major-General Sir J. Fenwick was deeply engaged in the recent conspiracies; he was arrested in June, and committed to Newgate; an indictment for high treason was immediately prepared, and the grand jury found a true bill against him; but some of his friends successfully tampered with Goodman, one of the two Crown witnesses, and induced him to quit the country. The Government failed to supply his place, and, as the law required two witnesses in cases of high treason, they were unable to proceed with the prosecution. Sir John Fenwick, however, remained in custody, and, unfortunately for himself, he had already, in the hope of obtaining a pardon, made disclosures which implicated the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Godolphin, Admiral Russell, the Earl of Marlborough, with others of less note, in treasonable practices. The Duke of Shrewsbury and Admiral Russell were Whigs; Lord Godolphin and the Earl of Marlborough Tories; and when Admiral Russell laid before the House of Commons the papers containing the charges of Sir J. Fenwick, both parties combined to vote them false and scandalous. A bill to attaint Sir J. Fenwick of high treason was brought in: but here the unanimity between the two parties ceased; and it is worthy of remark, that while the ministers and their friends, with some exceptions, used every exertion in the House of Commons, where Admiral Russell possessed great influence, to carry the measure, a majority of the leading members of the Government in the House of Lords voted against it.

After fierce and protracted debates in both Houses, the bill passed; but it was carried by a very narrow majority in the House of Lords—68 voting for, and 61 against the third reading. Lord Godolphin, who was not on good terms with his colleagues and shortly afterwards retired, appeared in his place in the House of Lords and voted against the bill; the Earl of Marlborough voted for it. Admiral Russell took a more prominent part, and denied boldly, if not with truth, the charge which had been brought against him: but the Duke

I believe you will be surprised to find all the Lords Justices (who are in town, and have voices) against that Bill, except the Archbishop of Canterbury, who spoke for it with the eloquence and courage of St. Paul. What particular reasons others had not to be convinced, is not for me to meddle with.[1] The Earl of Monmouth, who was a great advocate for the Bill, is thought to have had a very particular consideration in it: he once thought himself named in Sir John Fenwick's paper, and when he understood, by the Duchess of Norfolk's[2] means, both that he was not, and who were, it is suspected he then liked the accusation so well that he was unwilling it should be let fall, but offered his advice how it might be supported, not expecting he should be brought upon the stage for it. But this friendly adviser was, at the same time, so violent a prosecutor of the Bill (in order, as it seems, to drive Sir John upon justifying his paper) that his[3] friends were provoked by it to lay open the mystery, and one can't tell how far it will now be carried on the other side by some who bear no good will to that Lord. There appears to be

of Shrewsbury remained in retirement in the country during the whole of the discussions, leaving alike the business of his office and his own defence to be conducted by Mr. Vernon. Illness was the plea assigned for his absence; but under the circumstances, the state of his health, although precarious, was not a sufficient excuse. It appears, however, to have been a settled rule of policy with William not to inquire too closely into charges affecting the honour or loyalty of those who professed themselves his friends. Sir John Fenwick was executed, and his accusations slept.

[1] The Lords Justices were the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir J. Somers (Lord Keeper), the Earl of Pembroke, the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Dorset, and Lord Godolphin. All were in town, except the Duke of Shrewsbury.

[2] Mary, Duchess of Norfolk, was sole daughter of Henry Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough; she was, therefore, first cousin to the Earl of Monmouth, and, through her husband, allied to Sir John Fenwick, whose wife was a daughter of the first Earl of Carlisle.

[3] Sir John Fenwick's.

a vile practice, which I know not how far he will be guilty of,[1] a plan being laid down how to colour the accusation of the chief person[2] mentioned in Sir John Fenwick's paper, sent to the King, and assuring him of assistance if the advice were followed; but I hope the same Providence will protect the innocent that hath been their guard hitherto.[3]

[1] So in the original; but it is clear that Mr. Vernon did not doubt the fact, but only whether it could be proved.

[2] The Duke of Shrewsbury.

[3] There are strong grounds for believing that Lord Monmouth had been himself engaged in a treasonable correspondence with the Court of St. Germain's or their agents. He did not venture openly to support Sir John Fenwick's charges, but he secretly aided him with his advice; and it was fortunate for those against whom these charges were directed that his suggestions were not adopted. He recommended Sir John Fenwick to demand that the Earls of Portland and Romney should be examined to prove the correspondence between Lord Godolphin and the exiled Queen, and that some of the letters had been intercepted and shown to the King. He advised an appeal to the King himself to state the grounds of the dismissal of the Earl of Marlborough in 1692, and of the retirement of the Duke of Shrewsbury in 1693; and lastly, he suggested that Admiral Russell should be required to state upon oath, whether he had not seen Captain Floyd (an agent of King James) both in London and at Cadiz, and what had passed at these interviews. There can be no doubt that if Sir John Fenwick had followed this advice, and if he had succeeded in eliciting the truth by these pointed inquiries, the charge of treasonable practices would have been established in each case; and Lord Monmouth would have had the satisfaction of extorting from the King the singular confession that he was himself cognizant of, and had concealed the treason of two, at least, of the principal members of his Government. But Sir John Fenwick probably foresaw that he was not likely to obtain a pardon by such means: he sought to gain by threats the good offices of those whom he had accused, but hesitated to proceed to extremities against them. Meanwhile Lord Monmouth, partly with the view of concealing his connection with Sir J. Fenwick, and partly to force him to prove his charges, took a prominent part in favour of the bill of attainder. The friends of Sir John Fenwick were deeply incensed at this conduct, and Lord Carlisle (the nephew of Lady Mary Fenwick), aided by the Duchess of Norfolk (whom Lord Monmouth never forgave), exposed the intrigue. The House of Lords committed Lord Monmouth to the Tower, and the King struck his name out of the list of Privy Councillors, and dismissed him from his appointment as one of the Lords of

Lord Villiers to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Jan. 8, N. S., 1697.

We had yesterday an answer from Callières, concerning the place; who, instead of choosing one of the three we had named, [1] has proposed that the Ministers of the Allies should stay at the Hague, the French at Delft, and to treat at Ryswick. This proposition was talked of some time since, which gave me an occasion to know his Majesty's commands in it, who willingly consents to it (even to the exclusion of Utrecht, or any other place) upon the account of gaining two months' time in the negotiation, which would be lost before the Plenipotentiaries could be assembled anywhere else. The whole Congress is ready to agree with the King in his consent, except the Emperor's Ministers, whose instructions give exclusion to the Hague.

Sir William Trumbull to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Jan. 8, $169\frac{6}{7}$.

Having found an opportunity last night of representing to the King your Lordship's services to him in the Court of Vienna, your experience in negotiating there, and your general knowledge of the affairs abroad, and how proper it would be, as well as conducing to his Majesty's further service, that your Lordship should be

the Bedchamber. But neither William or his ministers ventured to break entirely with Lord Monmouth. Lord Sunderland visited him frequently during his confinement in the Tower, and he was shortly afterwards restored to favour.

Vide 'Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, and Letters illustrative of the Reign of William III.,' edited by Mr. James.

[1] The English and Dutch Plenipotentiaries had suggested Maestricht, Nimeguen, or Breda.

employed in the treaty of a general peace, his Majesty was pleased to direct that (though for the present your Lordship's stay at Vienna is necessary, yet) your Lordship's name should be inserted in the full powers as one of his Plenipotentiaries, and that I should give your Lordship notice of it by this night's post; which I do with very much satisfaction and pleasure, wishing you joy and all success in so great and glorious a work.

Mr. Blathwayt to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Jan. $\frac{19, 1696.}{29, 1697.}$

His Majesty is no ways satisfied with the proceedings of the Court of Vienna, in causing delays and obstructions to the great work of the peace. Whereupon I am commanded to let your Lordship know his Majesty's pleasure that the Emperor and his Ministers be earnestly pressed by your Lordship and Mr. Heemskerck to give way to the opening of the General Congress and negotiation, lest other resolutions should be taken that would not be so agreeable to that Court, and which the present state of Europe and condition of the Allies seem to require. Mr. Keppel has a patent passing to be an English Earl. He has not yet chosen his title, but I think it will be that of Albemarle.[1]

[1] Mr. Keppel was created Earl of Albemarle on the 10th February, notwithstanding a protest from the Earl of Bath, to whom this title with a dukedom had been promised by Charles II., in the event of the failure of the male line of the celebrated George Monk, Duke of Albemarle.

(Translation.) Paris, Feb. 1, 1696.

It was arranged that the Polish Princes[1] should receive the cordon bleu to-morrow, but the Queen, their mother, who is dissatisfied with the conduct of France in abandoning the interests of her family, has changed her mind, and has desired the Princes to thank the King for the honour which he intended to confer upon them, but to return without accepting it.[2]

Sir Paul Rycaut to Lord Lexington.

Jan. 23, $169\frac{6}{7}$.

Count d'Eck, the Imperial Minister, having received letters from the Emperor, went hence privately about ten days ago to Gustraw, where, meeting the Duke of Schwerin by appointment (who entered the town in a kind of triumph), he declared to the magistracy of the town and country, that, by command from the Emperor and sentence of the Imperial Chamber, he was come to induct and invest the Duke of Schwerin into the Principalities of Gustraw, in opposition to the Duke of Strelitz.[3] I formerly acquainted your Lord-

[1] The Princes Alexander and Constantine Sobieski, the two younger sons of the late King of Poland.

[2] Mary Casimira de la Grange was a native of France, and her father, the Marquis d'Arquien, was Captain of the Guards to the Duke of Orleans. She married, first, Prince Zamoiski, and, secondly, in 1667, before his election to the crown of Poland, John Sobieski. The Queen sent her two younger sons to Paris, by the advice of M. de Polignac, who at first flattered her with the hope that France would support the claims of Prince James to the crown of his father.

[3] Gustavus Adolphus, Duke of Mecklenburgh Gustraw, died in November, 1695, without male issue; and the Dukes of Mecklenburgh Schwerin and of Mecklenburgh Strelitz asserted rival claims to the territories of the deceased Duke.

The Emperor favoured the pretensions of the former, the Directors of the Circle (of Lower Saxony) those of the latter; and the King of

ship that, upon the death of the Duke of Gustraw, the regency of the country was put into the hands of the Directors of the Circle, namely, the King of Sweden, the Elector of Brandenburgh, and the Duke of Zell, with powers to guard the same and keep possession with one hundred men each, until the difference should be determined by the laws of the Empire. Now, upon the appearance of the Count d'Eck and the Duke of Schwerin, the troops of Brandenburgh and Zell withdrew, but the Swedes retired into the castle, and, as we hear now reported, three hundred men are coming from Wismar to reinforce those who are in the castle.

The King of Denmark hath sent some troops to quarter on the villages of Lubeck, upon a quarrel which the King of Denmark's postmaster had with the postmaster of Lubeck. What right the Danes may have on their side I know not, but, be it right or wrong, the Danes are ready to make good their pretensions; whether by force or reason, it matters not much in this age.

Sweden, their chief, showed, in the first instance, a disposition to aid the Duke of Mecklenburgh Strelitz in obtaining possession of Gustraw by force of arms.

This new contest was the more dangerous because the disputed succession to the Duchy of Saxe Lauenburgh was still undecided, and the mediating powers had hitherto failed to adjust the differences between the King of Denmark and the Duke of Holstein.

It was at length agreed (as Sir Paul Rycaut states) that the claims of the contending Princes should be examined by the Directors of the Circle, and that, pending the inquiry, the territories in dispute should be placed under their protection. The Imperial mandate for the investiture of the Duke of Mecklenburgh Schwerin was a violation of this agreement, to which the Emperor was himself a party, and the Directors refused to obey it. They ordered both the Duke and the Imperial minister to quit Gustraw without delay; the former obeyed, but Count d'Eck refused to depart until he was compelled by Colonel Klinkerstrom, the commander of the Swedish troops.

The Emperor warmly resented the indignity offered to his minister, and the Swedish Ambassador at Vienna, Count Gabriel d'Oxienstern, was forbid to appear at court.

(Translation.) Paris, Feb. 4, 1697.

The manifesto of King James, of which I sent you a copy, has been privately distributed by some of his adherents, and given to the Foreign Ministers.

On a more careful consideration, however, of this document, they think that it will do harm rather than good; for it is probable that the Catholic as well as the Protestant Princes will be offended by it, and it may raise doubts with regard to the sincerity of the engagement into which France has entered to recognize King William. It has therefore been suppressed, and the persons who distributed it now say that King James disavows it, and that when the proper time arrives he will publish one which will be addressed to all Christian Princes without distinction.

Lord Villiers to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Feb. 5, N. S., 1697.

Comte Kaunitz yesterday, in the name of the Congress, required the mediation of M. Lilienroot, the Swedish Minister here; the other Ministers of the Congress have the liberty to do it likewise, every one in the name of his particular master; and, accordingly, I have done it in the name of his Majesty. I have written to Mr. Robinson to do the like at Stockholm, in concert with M. van Heckeren. The Spanish Minister[1] does not yet concur in requiring the mediation, not being yet satisfied in the point of his reunions; but I hope a few days will adjust this matter, and then we shall be one body again, and weak enough, to oppose so potent an enemy as France. I hope you

[1] Don Bernardo de Quiros.

will quickly send us the Emperor's consent to treat at the Hague: we shall go on the more cheerfully with what I reckon now begun, since yesterday's work. Pray God send us a speedy and happy ending!

Mr. Stepney to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Feb. 5, 1697.

Count Kaunitz last night went to Mr. Lilienroot to defer the mediation to the King of Sweden in the name of the Congress, which is a good step towards a treaty. Callières has consented that Luxemburgh shall be restored *in statu quo*, and hopes are given that something more than was granted by the peace of Nimeguen will be done for the House of Lorraine, not by preliminary, but when we treat; but what that something more means, I cannot guess, unless they have a mind to give the young Duke a French wife.[1] This is more news than you could expect from me, who have nothing to do with the Congress, and who concern myself as little as is possible with those matters. Your English letters will tell you strange news of promotions; another Dutchman made an English Earl,[2] a Frenchman made an Irish Governor,[3] and a German-English Envoy made General over our French troops on the Rhine:[4]

[1] Mr. Stepney was right in this conjecture. On the conclusion of the peace, the Duke of Lorraine married Elizabeth, daughter of the Duke of Orleans. Lorraine was restored to him; but Louis XIV. retained possession of the four routes through the duchy, each half a league in breadth, which were ceded to France by the treaty of Nimeguen. It will be remembered that Charles, Duke of Lorraine (the father of the young Duke), refused to accede to these conditions when first imposed, and, quitting his dominions, passed the remainder of his life in the military service of the Emperor.

[2] Mr. Keppel, created Earl of Albemarle.

[3] On the 28th January Lord Galway was appointed one of the Lords Justices of Ireland.

[4] On the conclusion of the neutrality of Italy, Lord Galway withdrew from Piedmont and marched,

one would think we were at riddles and cross purposes. I forgot to add that of a commoner who has his head cut off—an honour which ought to be reserved only for your Lordships.[1]

Mr. Blathwayt to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Feb. $\frac{5,\ 1696.}{15,\ 1697.}$

Pray, my Lord, let your Secretaries be more careful in covering your letters, most of them coming quite open by the wearing out of the covers. Besides 't were better, upon some considerations, that they did not come to me hither, under Mr. Secretary's packet, so perfectly open as they do.[2]

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, Feb. 15, 1697.

I had not before yesterday your Lordship's favour of the 29th of December last, with the inclosed paper relating to the resolutions of your court for continuing the war, since which our advices from Holland say the French King seemed then more in earnest as to peace, having offered such a manner of acknowledging our King as is satisfactory; yet I know not what to think of it, since after talking so big, it will be thought a great lessening to his pretended glory; and on the other hand, the very ticklish state of the King of Spain's health must make him desire it, that if possible

with the troops under his command, to the Rhine. He shortly afterwards returned to England; and Count Frize, the "German-English Envoy," was placed at the head of these troops, which were principally composed of, or at least officered by, French refugees.

[1] Sir John Fenwick was beheaded on Tower Hill on the 23rd January.

[2] Sir William Trumbull was on bad terms with his colleagues. He shortly afterwards resigned, assigning as the reason for this step that the Lords Justices had used him like a footman.

the confederates might be thereby induced to disarm before the succession of this monarchy is opened, to which he will infallibly pretend, notwithstanding the so solemn renunciation made at his marriage with the Infanta.[1] Here is a warm discourse that the Duke of Grammont is coming[2] Ambassador from France with proposals, and though it may seem improbable, I do not altogether disbelieve it. However, here are not wanting private emissaries, who can, under hand, do the business as well. All possible care is taken to conceal the truth of his Catholic Majesty's indisposition; they tell us he has had no fever-fit since Monday was se'nnight, when it was very severe, lasting eight or ten hours; he has not since that risen out of bed, but, to disguise the matter the better, the players are brought to act in his chamber, and then they give out his Majesty was pretty well such a day, and saw a comedy. He is certainly very weak, and the greatest hope for him is in the return of the sun, of which we are yet very little sensible, having continued frost and snow.

(Translation.) Paris, Feb. 22, 1697.

The hopes of the Prince de Conti have been revived by the arrival of a courier from the Abbé de Polignac.[3]

[1] Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of Philip IV., and half-sister of Charles II. of Spain.

[2] The son of the celebrated Maréchal de Grammont.

[3] Melchior de Polignac, Abbé, and subsequently Cardinal, de Polignac, was descended from a distinguished family of Languedoc. When very young he displayed eminent diplomatic talents in the conduct of a negotiation with the Pope, Alexander VIII.; and in 1693 he was appointed ambassador to the King of Poland. He soon acquired great influence at that court; and on the death of the King, he suggested to Louis XIV. the nomination of the Prince de Conti as a candidate for the vacant throne of Poland. The failure of this scheme certainly could not with justice be attributed either to mismanagement or negligence on the

He states that the party of the Prince is increasing, and that the confederate army is at his disposal.[1] During the carnival Monsieur gave a dance; it was not a formal ball, but there were masks, and among them was an opera-dancer, named La Florence, disguised in male costume. When requested to dance, she selected for her partner the Duchesse de Chartres. As she is the declared mistress of the Duc de Chartres, this was considered exceedingly insolent, and it has annoyed Monsieur so much that he has determined not to give any balls this year.

Sir William Trumbull to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Feb. 16, $169\frac{6}{7}$.

His Majesty commands me to signify to your Lordship his pleasure that you do, in his name, make a compliment of thanks in very obliging terms to the Emperor for his care of his Majesty's safety, in ordering the discovery of the villanous designs of Count Buselli[2] to be made to him; and likewise that you

part of the French minister, who on the contrary exhibited singular skill and address in conciliating the Polish nobles, and in counteracting the intrigues of the opponents of the Prince de Conti; but on his return to France, in 1698, M. de Polignac was banished the court. He was subsequently restored to favour; and in 1710 he was despatched, with Maréchal d'Uxelles, to the conferences of Gertruydenberg; two years afterwards he was one of the plenipotentiaries at the congress of Utrecht. Cardinal de Polignac died in 1741, aged eighty years.

[1] M. de Polignac had gained the confederate army by the promise of a large sum of money. The Elector of Saxony afterwards endeavoured by still more liberal offers to induce them to declare in his favour, but, of eighty-six companies, seventy-eight adhered to their engagements with M. de Polignac. "The first time," says a French contemporary writer, "since the establishment of the monarchy that the Polish army refused an offer of money."—*Vide* Histoire de la Scission de Pologne, par M. de la Bizardière. Pub. 1700.

[2] A full account of Count Buselli,

assure Count Mansfelt from his Majesty that he is sensible of the friendly part he has acted in this discovery, and in that which he takes in the preservation of his Majesty's person; and his Majesty directs your Lordship to use all your endeavours to have this fellow seized, that he may be brought to examination and punishment, if the matter of fact be true.

Sir Paul Rycaut to Lord Lexington.

Hamburgh, Feb. 20, S. V. $169\frac{6}{7}$.

Here are two gentlemen arrived from Scotland, namely, Mr. Paterson [1] and Lieut.-Col. Erskine, [2] who are come in quality of Commissioners for the Scotch East India Company, desiring (as I have heard) to be admitted to a treaty with this Government for the establishment of a staple in this city; but by a command from the King, I think I have ruined that design, and diverted the magistracy from any thoughts of treaty or concordatum with them. Their next design is to augment their stock by subscriptions of the people of these countries; but I think also that will hardly succeed; the merchants having as yet taken some prejudicial impressions against this trade and the managers thereof, and also have considered the many and hazard-

and of his supposed machinations against the life of William III., will be found in Lord Lexington's letter to Mr. Blathwayt of May 8th, p. 258.

[1] William Paterson was the originator of the Scotch India Company. He was bred to the church; but having "a violent propensity to see foreign countries, he made his profession the instrument of indulging it, by going to the new Western World under the pretence of converting the Indians to the religion of the Old World." The ruin of the first colony at Darien deprived him for a time of his senses; but he recovered and survived the failure of his scheme many years.—*Vide* Dalrymple's Memoirs.

[2] Colonel Erskine, the son of Lord Cardross.

ous difficulties which it will at first lie under, and the doubtful contests it will find from the English and Dutch rivals.[1]

(Translation.) Paris, March 8, 1697.

The Abbé de Châteauneuf departed a fortnight ago.[2] Messieurs Boreel and Dyckvelt[3] have complained to M. de Callières that the French privateers capture the fishing boats in the Meuse, and they fear that the Congress will be insufficiently supplied with fish. The King, therefore, has given letters of safe conduct for a certain number of these boats, which will,

[1] The merchants of Hamburgh highly resented the interference of Sir Paul Rycaut in this matter. They stated that "they looked upon it as a very strange thing that the King of Great Britain should offer to hinder them who were a free people from trading with whom they pleased, and were amazed to think that he should hinder them from joining with his own subjects in Scotland, to whom he had given such large privileges by so solemn an Act of Parliament." It appears, also, that the King was of opinion that he had gone too far; for in answer to an address from the Scotch Company, complaining of the conduct of Sir Paul Rycaut and Mr. Cressett, he stated that as soon as he returned to England he would take their representations into consideration, and that in the mean time orders would be sent to Sir Paul Rycaut and Mr. Cressett not to make use of his Majesty's name or authority for obstructing their Company in the prosecution of their trade with the inhabitants of Hamburgh.—*Vide* Coke's Detection of the Court and State of England.

[2] The Queen of Poland, who was in frequent communication with the French court, gave a very unfavourable account of the prospects of the Prince de Conti, in the hope that Louis XIV. might be persuaded to withdraw the Prince from the list of competitors for the Polish crown.

She succeeded so far as to induce Louis to doubt the correctness of the reports received from the French ambassador; and M. de Castagnères, Abbé de Châteauneuf, the brother of the French ambassador at Constantinople, was despatched to Poland to verify the statements of M. de Polignac, and at the same time to check his proceedings; for he had far exceeded his instructions in the pecuniary engagements into which he had entered with the nobles and army of Poland.

[3] Messrs. Borcel and Dyckvelt were two of the Dutch plenipotentiaries. M. Van Haren was the third.

in return, be compelled to serve the places of Congress before any other.

In order to avoid naming King William before the Peace is concluded, they have determined not to give any passports to the English Ministers, but arrangements have been made for supplying the States General with as many as they may require for the use of these Ministers and their couriers.

Mr. Stepney to Lord Lexington.

Frankfort, $\frac{\text{Feb. } 27}{\text{March } 9}$, 1697.

If your Court does not intend really (or thinks they cannot bring it about) to fix the bonnet on the head of the Elector of Hanover, they would do well, at least, to convince him by solid arguments why they cannot, that this may not be made use of as a pretext for not sending a timely assistance. I have writ to Mr. Cressett many reasons to induce the Lunenburgh Court not to be too firm in their declaration that they will not send a man until that point is made out; which is a false maxim of state, and may be the means of utterly forfeiting what they would unreasonably extort.

Baron Zeiler dropped in here last night, and took post so early this morning that I could not see him. I believe he is afraid lest we should sign without him; but I am of the hangman's opinion, that there will be no sport before he comes.[1]

[1] It was supposed, and probably with truth, that Baron Zeiler was the special agent of the Imperial Court, and that he alone of the Austrian plenipotentiaries possessed the full confidence of the Emperor, and of his chief minister, Count Chinski.

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, March 15, 1697, N. S.

According to my advices from England, this is like to be the last time I shall offer your Lordship my service at Vienna, and I shall next wait to receive your commands from the Hague, where I wish you may meet the same sincerity you carry, which, I confess, I am a little afraid of; yet the King of Spain's recovery, which leaves now no room for any further apprehensions, and the safe arrival of a rich flota from the Indies last week to Cadiz, seem to facilitate the peace, if there ever was any such thing really intended. Sixteen ships are come in by miracle, and only one missing, which is reported to have put in at Faro, in Portugal, but of that we have no certainty. They bring at least sixteen millions in plate, besides great quantities of rich commodities. If you make no general peace there, you must expect here will be concluded a neutrality for Catalogne, which the Nuncio presses hard, and has got a great party.

(Translation.) Paris, March 25, 1697.

The King has seen *l'Homme au Spectre* at Marly, but no one knows what passed at the interview. It is believed that this phantom is a confessor, who takes this mode of communicating to the King some important secret which he has discovered in the confessional.

A second statement in favour of King James will shortly be published, containing the reasons which should induce the Protestant Princes and states to contribute to his restoration.[1]

[1] About this time James II. demanded, but probably with no expectation of success, that his minister should be admitted to the con-

Mr. Stepney to Lord Lexington.

March $\frac{16}{26}$, 1697.

I suppose Prior has given your Lordship notice that he is arrived at the Hague with your powers and instructions, and perhaps your postulata have been sent after him. So far we are in earnest, and are willing to believe the French are so too; but the invincible perverseness of your Ministry will spoil all. I imagine they will not declare themselves till they have spun us into another campaign, or at least till Count Harrach has settled the point of succession in Spain, and examines more narrowly whether the King will die or not. It would be a shorter way to knock him on the head downright rather than all Europe should be kept in suspense with the uncertain state of his health.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, March 30, 1697.

Count Straatman's Secretary will be quickly despatched back to his master, and, as I am informed, his orders will be to insist for obtaining a further explication from Callières, according to what D'Avaux declared some time ago in Swedeland, and the resolutions of the States of the 3rd of September, [1] presented by us here;

gress at Ryswick. This claim, so absurd under the circumstances, was of course rejected. He then sent M. Bem, disguised as a domestic, to the Hague, to watch over his interests there; and on the 9th of June he published a formal protest against the negotiations with the Prince of Orange.

[1] The French ministers already showed symptoms of a desire to withdraw a part of their original proposals, and the delays interposed by the Emperor enabled them from time to time to explain away former concessions, and to advance new claims, which were not strictly in accordance with the conditions to which they had previously consented.

and that once settled and adjusted, they will consent both to the place and the opening of the Congress. I have from the same hand, that this court may be tempted to accept an equivalent for Strasburgh; if so, the reasons no doubt are—

1st. Religion. The Jesuits not being willing to see that place return again under a Protestant government, having now two or three colleges there.

2ndly. The places proposed for the equivalent are likely to be of the Emperor's own patrimony; there self-interest touches.[1]

And lastly, in hopes to make the conditions of Lorraine better, the French having declared they will do nothing more for that Prince than they offered at the treaty of Nimeguen, if they do not accept of an equivalent for Strasburgh.

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, April 12, 1697, N.S.

The fair Secretary[2] had never so good an opportunity to triumph over the infirmities of a weak brother as she has now, for I have neither an eye nor a hand, one eye being civilly put out by a defluxion, and the other weeping till it comes again, and the arm in a scarf, having been let blood for abatement of salt humours: these inconveniences will, I hope, be so removed, that I may send your Lordship a copy of your plein pouvoir and instructions by the next post. In the mean time I am trying all that physic can do, in

[1] Louis XIV. proposed as an equivalent for Strasburgh the following places:—Brisac, Friburgh, Philipsburgh, Fort Kehl, Mont Royal, and Traerback: the two former alone belonged to Austria.

[2] Lady Lexington.

order to assist at the Congress at Ryswick, rather than be sent home to the college at Chelsea.

The reasons your Lordship was pleased to mention to me that might make an equivalent[1] received at Vienna, are mighty good ones, and if I can judge from some people here, who have, I believe, too frequent correspondence with the French at Delft, it is what they would most endeavour, if they durst but begin to mention it. In the treaty itself they will try it, but by what I can hear, they do not think it yet time to do so. I treat your Lordship, you see, *en secrétaire*, and speak to you thus far, as to your Excellence, my master; my Lord Lexington, my patron and my friend, shall have all the verses I can pick up as soon as my eyes come home again, or my hand can transcribe.[2]

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, April 13, 1697.

You will find here what has passed at the dispossessing of the Duke of Mecklenburgh by the directors of the Circle, as 't is represented here. The Emperor is extremely irritated with the proceeding, and everybody says that he never appeared to be so moved in his life upon any occasion whatever; indeed I think they might have done it with more respect.[3] Mr. Heemskerck was this morning with the Ambassador of Spain,[4] who told him he had orders from his court to propose to this a general armistice, which would pre-

[1] For Strasburgh.

[2] This letter is in the handwriting of Mr. Swinford, but is signed by Prior himself.

[3] Referring to the expulsion of the Duke of Mecklenburgh Schwerin and Count d'Eck from Gustraw by Col. Klinkerstrom and the Swedish troops.

[4] Francis Juan de Santa Maria, Bishop of Solsona.

vent a separate neutrality in Catalonia, which otherwise they should be forced to make, having no hopes of succour from England by a squadron, and being out of possibility otherwise to defend themselves. What the Emperor will do in it I do not know, but I think we ought to oppose it, or at least declaim against it, and get it referred to the Congress, where his Majesty may take his measures; but this I cannot help saying, as a good Englishman, if the House of Austria will make their separate peace on all sides where their convenience seems to lead them, without consulting us, we ought to take care of ourselves at the same time, and not to be left to pay for all.

Mr. Robinson to Lord Lexington.

Stockholm, April 7, 1697.

I have formerly mentioned, in my letters to your Lordship, the indisposition this King has now a good while been under, the issue of which I, till of late, hoped would have been more favourable than it has at last proved. His Majesty's whole life has been very regular in every respect except only in the violence of his exercises and excessive haste in his journeys, which he seemed to take pleasure in, the effects of which, in the expense of his spirits and the agitation of his blood, have long been apprehended, and at last have proved fatal. Besides he has suffered much by falls off his horse[1] and other contusions, of which he received one

[1] The King was accustomed to ride post such long stages, and with so great speed, that he was often nearly suffocated by the heat. He met with many accidents in riding and hunting; and on one occasion he broke a blood vessel in his eagerness to rescue one of his attendants from the attack of a bear. On another he fell from his horse, and broke his leg, which was so badly set that he was lame for the rest of his life.—*Vide* Robinson's Account of Sweden.

the last summer that affected his liver, already inflamed by the violence of his journey, and has now brought him to his end; for, from that time, his Majesty found his stomach very weak, and seldom able to retain either meat or physic, and has been afflicted with most exquisite inward pains, which were judged to be a colic. His Majesty bore them long without much complaint, and if courage and firmness of mind could have done it, would have overcome them. In the beginning of February his Majesty retired into the country for change of air, and not finding relief thereby, returned hither towards the middle of March, and in few days after his illness increased so much that himself as well as his physicians concluded he had but few days to live, and therefore, in the intervals of his pains, his Majesty reviewed his will, and explained it agreeably to the present state of affairs, and then, with an exemplary patience under his sufferings, as also great piety and resignation, prepared for his departure out of this world. On Good Friday, the 2nd instant, his Majesty received the holy sacrament, and afterwards took leave of the Royal Family, the Senators, and others. The next day he seemed to be somewhat better, but that soon changed, his strength and spirits visibly decaying till Monday the 5th instant, when he again received the sacrament, and at ten that night expired, to the great affliction of his relations and his subjects, who have lost a Prince that was very exemplary, and endowed with many most Christian and princely qualities, which would have been without blemish, if all that were in his favour had been as well inclined as himself. His Majesty was born November 25th, 1655, came to the crown at five years old, was declared major and crowned

between seventeen and eighteen, and died in the forty-second year of his age.[1] Yesterday, the Senate being assembled in the Queen Mother's apartment, the late King's will was opened, by which the management of affairs during the present[2] King's minority (which will be somewhat more than two years) is intrusted to the Queen and five of the Senators, who are to determine all matters by the majority of voices, of which her Majesty has two. These Senators are—

The Count Benoit Oxenstiern, who, under the Queen, is to have the direction of the Regency, the Senate, and all foreign affairs;

Count Christopher Gyldenstiern is for the affairs of the Militia;

Count Fabian Wrede for those of the Admiralty;

Count Nicolas Gyldenstolpe for those of Justice;

Count Laurence Wallerstedt for what concerns the Treasury.

These Regents are to have full and absolute power in the making of treaties and all other acts of government, and I hope time will show that they make good use of it, not only for the interest of Sweden, but of all Europe. Their first care, I suppose, must be to provide a remedy against the famine which at present afflicts the most parts of this nation to a very great extremity. But the seas now begin to open, and relief may speedily be expected.

[1] Charles XI. of Sweden succeeded his father, Charles Gustavus X., in 1660. In 1680 he married Ulrica Eleanora, sister to the King of Denmark. He was frugal, temperate, and pious, and possessed in some degree the military talents for which his more celebrated son was so eminently distinguished.

[2] Charles XII. was born in 1682: he was therefore fifteen years of age at his father's death.

Lord Villiers to Lord Lexington.

Hague, May 7, N. S., 1697.

I am glad to tell you that all our preliminary difficulties are over. The Imperialists are satisfied with a requisition made to them by myself, the Spanish, and Dutch Ministers. I send your Lordship the requisition with the answer.[1] The Spaniards are contented, as to their reunions, that the answer should be given into the hands of the mediator forty-eight hours before the opening of the treaty, and dispense with its being communicated to them provided the Dutch Ministers see it. Upon this the Congress yesterday thought fit to propose Thursday to the mediator for the opening of the treaty; and I do not doubt but that by this time the French have consented to it, though I have not had an opportunity of seeing M. Lilienroot.[2] The wind being fair, we expect the King every hour.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, May 8, 1697.

'Tis some time ago I received orders from you to thank the Emperor for the information he gave me by Count Mansfelt, of a certain Italian that might have a

[1] The principal points in dispute between the Imperial and the French ministers related to the restoration, without exception, of all the reunions, and to the conditions on which the Duke of Lorraine should be re-established in his dominions. The French plenipotentiaries had promised the restitution of the reunions which had been acquired since the treaty of Nimeguen, but every successive declaration on this point was less explicit than that which preceded it; and they now formally refused to entertain, in the preliminaries, any suggestion that the Duchy of Lorraine should be restored, except on the humiliating conditions of the same treaty, that of Nimeguen.

In the requisition referred to by Lord Villiers the ministers of Great Britain, Spain, and Holland pledged themselves to aid the Imperialists in obtaining satisfaction on these points during the negotiation.

[2] The Swedish Ambassador and mediator.

design against his Majesty's life, which I did, and at the same time desired he would be pleased to continue his care to prevent anything of that nature. He received his Majesty's thanks very kindly, and assured me no care should be wanting on his side; that he would give his orders accordingly, and that in a small time he expected a man who could give him further information about it, whom he had sent for on purpose, and that as soon as he was come he would order Count Mansfelt to bring him to me. So far I have already acquainted you with. Two or three days ago Count Mansfelt sent to me to tell me the gentleman was come, and to desire me to come and dine with him at Laxemburgh, where I should meet him, which I did. The gentleman is one Count Castel Barco, a man of a great estate, one of the first families in Tyrol, and now the Emperor's Envoy Extraordinary and Commissary to all the Princes of Italy, a very reasonable man, and one upon whom one may rely in what he says. He told me that it was most certain that this Buselli had been tempted to undertake the assassination of his Majesty; that he had it from such hands that he could not doubt of it, who were confidants of Buselli, and who had assured him that they had seen the original letters from France to that purpose. He assured me further that this Buselli was under the protection of France, and now actually received a pension from thence; that he was recommended by the French Ambassador to the Duke of Mantua to be protected by him, being outlawed by all other States for the many villainies he has committed, and that the Ambassador added when he delivered him, that he was a man his master had great consideration for, and would require his safety at the

Duke's hands; that he now lives in a castle the Duke has given him, where he subsists by assassinations and putting all the country round about under contribution; and that when he wants money, he only sends a note to any reputed rich man for such a sum, and that no one dares refuse to send it him, for if they do they are sure not to live long after it; that all the villains that are outlawed and fear the gallows repair to him, and he receives them into regular pay and subsists them by the contributions above named; that he has a hundred or a hundred and fifty of these fellows now with him in this castle, and that if anybody has a mind to have a man murdered, 't is but sending to him, and for so much, more or less according as the thing is difficult or not, you may have it done; and that the men he has murdered in this manner are innumerable. And so much more of this kind that I own it struck horror into me but to hear it, especially after it was all confirmed to me by Prince Commercy; and many more particulars how dangerous a villain this was. In short, Sir, the end of this conference was, that this fellow, being so dangerous and pernicious to human society, that his Majesty's life having already been attempted by his enemies, and it being apparent that the malice of some of them still subsists, and this fellow so fit an instrument for the execution of it, the Emperor should be desired to give his orders to Count Castel Barco for the securing of him, which is done, and he has his orders to get him into his hands dead or alive. This, if you please, must be kept very secret: for, should it be known, it would not only endanger the escaping of the fellow, but the life itself of Count Castel Barco. [1]

[1] It is very improbable that Count Buselli really entertained any de-

Hague, May 10, 1697, N. S.

Last Tuesday, about noon, we had the good news of the King's safe arrival on this side. His Majesty landed, about ten o'clock, at Oranienpolder, and, after having dined with M. Rhynenberg at Naeldwick, and passed the afternoon at Houselaerdyck, came hither that night. The Earl of Pembroke is come over with his Majesty, Sir Joseph Williamson's indisposition not permitting him to be of the voyage, but will follow in a few days. The Imperial Ministers acquainted M. Lilienroot, the mediator, on Sunday, and the Congress here on Monday last, that they would consent, with the rest of the Allies, to the opening of the treaty for a General Peace without any further delay. The mediator having the same assent from all the Allies on one part, and the French ministers on the other, appointed yesterday, four o'clock in the afternoon, for the first meeting at Ryswick. Accordingly, the Ministers of the Allies went thither at the appointed time: the two first of the Imperial embassy, with two coaches and six horses each, and the rest in one coach and six. My Lord Villiers went but with one coach and six horses, as incognito, and in complaisance to the Earl of Pembroke, who went with him in the same coach, his Excellency's own coaches and equipage not being yet come to the Hague. About half an hour after the Allies were together, the French came thither in three coaches and six, and were brought to their apartments, which are on one side of the house, the Allies being on the other side and the mediator in the

signs against King William; but it appears from the preceding letters on this subject that the British Government regarded the matter in a serious light. I have been unable to discover whether the Count was "snapt" or what was his fate.

middle. The Assembly lasted till near eight o'clock: and all that was done was that the plein-pouvoirs, as well of the Ministers of the Allies as of the French, were shown to the mediator, and copies of them left in his hands; after which the Congress was adjourned till Saturday morning, ten o'clock.

His Majesty, I hear, designs to leave the Hague to-morrow. He goes for a day or two to Zuylestein, and from thence to Loo.

My Lord Villiers kissed the King's hand yesterday morning, for his being one of the Lords Justices of Ireland.[1]

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, May 10, 1697, N. S.

The old Count de Harrach is daily expected at Barcelona, though I am assured all possible endeavours have been used from hence to stop his coming, nor will his business—which every one knows already[2]—be welcome here; so that though he may be certain of all satisfaction in respect and ceremonials, yet I believe he will have little in the main of his errand. I am sorry to see it so: but, by all I can learn, the French party is much the strongest, and I fear will appear so whenever the case happens.[3]

[1] This letter bears no signature, but is in the handwriting of Mr. Prior's secretary, Mr. Swinford.

[2] To induce the King of Spain to declare the Archduke Charles his successor.

[3] The greater credit is due to Mr. Stanhope for arriving at this conclusion (which subsequent events proved to be correct), because it certainly was contrary to general belief at the time.

It would appear from this letter that the preponderance of the French interest at the Spanish court was apparent (at least to Mr. Stanhope) not only before either of the treaties of partition was in contemplation, but during the continuance of the war with France.

I cannot give you so good an account as I desire of his Catholic Majesty's health, though it be much better than of late; he has newly left off his course of steel, ordered by his doctors to remove obstructions and a swelling in one side, and yet the swelling still continues. He is so well as to go out almost every day to take the air, although he looks very pale and ill. The Queen has had these three last days three very severe fits of a fever, ten or twelve hours each, which begin with vomitings and frissons.

Mr. Robinson to Lord Lexington.

Stockholm, May 1, 1697.

Your Excellency had, in mine of the 7th, an account of the late King's death, and of the method the Government is put into during the present King's minority, in which things continue to be carried on without any disorder, though not without intrigues of divers kinds. Some are for making a speedy end of the regency by declaring the King major, without waiting till he be past seventeen, as is usual; and considering, besides other things, the forward growth of his Majesty both in body and mind, it may not be unreasonable to make such anticipation. The proofs his Majesty daily gives of judgment and prudence, as also of great justice and equanimity, are very remarkable, and promise much happiness to his people.

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, May $\frac{17}{7}$, 1697.

Here is, my dear Lord, the dish of Congress news. I ought to have sent you the first course by last post,

but, for the essential goodness of it, I might have reserved the whole meal till another; for a man must be very hungry that takes up with such diet. You see, my Lord, how it is with us; and if we go on no faster than we have begun, we may e'en make another Nimeguen business of it.[1] Kaunitz is ceremonious and punctilious about trifles; Zeiler is more so; Smeateau, the Brandenburgh Minister, acts upon queries and quomodos, and, in short, is a better agent at a Diet at Ratisbonne than a Plenipotentiary at a General Peace. Your confrères go, as yet, incognito in the same coach (my Lord Villiers's). No business is yet on foot.

I cannot boast of my eyes. I have a great respect for the God of Love, but am not aspiring to divinity: a blind boy may turn Cupid; but at thirty, if the mischance falls on one, I know nothing but singing psalms upon Fleet Bridge that remains for one.

My Lord Villiers is named, you will have heard, for Ireland. The King has not been very well, but I hope it is now over.

Lord Villiers to Lord Lexington.

Hague, May 24, N. S., 1697.

The death of our mediator[2] makes no alteration in our negotiation, which I suppose Chinski will not like. The King has consented to have M. La Tour[3]

[1] The Congress of Nimeguen was opened in April, 1678: it lasted for nearly a year, and during the negotiations Louis XIV. succeeded in separating the Allies. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Prince of Orange, the States-General concluded a separate peace with France in August, 1678, and the King of Spain followed their example in December. The Emperor, thus deserted by his Allies, was compelled to relinquish his pretensions, and in February, 1679, he reluctantly signed a Treaty with France.

[2] The King of Sweden.

[3] M. la Tour was the Minister of the Duke of Savoy: a few days

come to the Congress, who is now at my door, and prevents me being any longer.

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, May $\frac{21}{31}$, 1697.

The Emperor's postulata have frightened the French out of their wits. They have no notion, I hear, of our Germans being in earnest for a peace after the giving in propositions that seem so monstrous;[1] but this, I hope, is but grimace on the other side, and that the effect of all will be that our Imperialists must think of speaking reason, or nobody can treat with them, and of advancing faster, or they will founder all that walk with them. If they cannot defend the Rhine, and will not stick to the preliminaries, they are likely to prove hopeful company in war and in treaty.

Mrs. Davers must wish me joy of my being named Secretary for Ireland, which I hope will prove some settlement, and be a patent for hindering me from starving. I know nothing that would make my new dignity more agreeable to me than it is, but that your Lordship in England should be in the post you deserve, and send me the King's orders to Dublin.

before the Treaty of Turin was concluded, he succeeded in obtaining from William a large sum of money in payment of the subsidies due to his master. The King was deeply mortified at having been thus duped, and when M. la Tour appeared at Court to offer the explanations or apologies of the Duke, he listened in silence, and then turned his back on him: but he never suffered his private resentments to interfere with the attainment of a political object; and he consented to admit M. la Tour to the Congress because he was aware that his exclusion would have afforded to the Emperor another excuse for delay.

[1] These postulata contained a renewal of the demands which the Imperial Ministers had in vain required should be acquiesced in as preliminaries.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, June 5, 1697.

Three or four days ago the Elector of Saxony, who is now making use of the baths about twenty miles off for the curing of his leg, which he wrenched last winter, intimated to me he wished to speak with me, and yesterday I went thither after dinner. He told me he was glad to see me, for that he had something *que lui pesait sur le cœur*, to make use of his own words. I asked him if I might inquire what it was; he answered he designed to tell me, and that it was this. That the King, when he was at the Hague, should tell Count Kaunitz that he was very well informed that the Elector had had some emissaries from France, who made him great offers if his Highness would withdraw his troops out of Hungary, not send them nor the rest upon the Rhine, but remain neuter during the war; and that his Majesty expressed himself as if he seemed to apprehend lest his Highness should give ear to it. I told him, for my part, I had never had the least intimation of anything of that nature from the King, and that I could say nothing to it. He answered that he was very well assured his Majesty had expressed himself in that manner, for that they had shown him Kaunitz's letter about it, and added that he did not deny the thing, but that the French had made him considerable offers, nay even *carte blanche* for him to make what demands he pleased, but that he never would hearken to anything of that nature, and that 't was a great trouble to him that the King should think him capable of it. He then desired me to assure his Majesty of the contrary, with all the expressions of veneration and

respect imaginable, and with this particular one, that the King should never find him a Duke of Savoy to desert his friends.[1]

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, June 6, 1696, N.S.

The Count Harrach arrived here about ten days ago, is yet incognito, but has seen the King several times in private. He has come very seasonably to balance the Nuncio, who is very busy here in soliciting a neutrality for Catalogne; to which the conjuncture seems favourable, for the French army, about 24,000 men, are within five leagues of Barcelona. The apprehension of a siege has struck such a consternation among them that some of the richest inhabitants have removed their best effects, and several convents of nuns are also retired thence. The principality has desired leave of their Captain-General to set up the standard of Santa Olalia, patroness of the province, to defend which all persons able to bear arms are obliged to come in; but that was refused, as a remedy which might prove of as ill consequence as anything to be feared from the enemy it pretended to secure them against. Yesterday came an express thence with letters of the 3rd instant, N.S., that nine French ships, with some other small vessels, were then newly come before the place, and 't is said all their galleys are expected. The Spanish army does not exceed 18,000, and mightily divided in their counsels by reason of the feuds between Don Francisco de Velasco and the Prince of Hesse, which the council

[1] The Elector had determined to enter the lists for the Crown of Poland, and it would appear that the King of France had refused to support his pretensions.—*Vide* L'Histoire de la Scission de Pologne.

here can find no expedient to compose.[1] His Catholic Majesty continues pretty well, though a little indisposed to-day, so cannot walk in the procession of Corpus, which ceremony is therefore put off till Sunday next. The Queen is perfectly well again.

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, June 12, 1697.

Here is the copy of our project of peace.[2] I wish your Lordship here to sign it. I have told Mr. Sutton that we have done nothing at Ryswick this week. In private, Mr. Dyckvelt has given in this project for us. We have had his Majesty's approbation of it, though I may venture to say to your Lordship I think the forming it a little irregular, for neither Privy Council digested it, nor Secretary of State formed or drew it up. I am ordered to send it by this post into England, and am not much in pain what they may say against it there, provided there be nothing objected to it at Delft.

The great article of K. J.[3] is, by his Majesty's order, left to be treated by our friends first, vivâ voce, lest we might ask, in a thing so delicate, what we might be obliged to retract from. The Pensioner of Holland has been with his Majesty, and has, I believe, his instructions as to what will be done in earnest in the great affair, which must advance by much greater steps than it has done, or be quite broke off; but I think France will not let it come to that.

[1] The Prince of Hesse Darmstadt was on bad terms with every successive Viceroy of Catalonia. He himself aspired to the supreme command in the province, for which his bravery very well qualified him, and he at length obtained it.

[2] This project differed but little from that which was in the end adopted.

[3] King James.

M. de Bruynise[1] *to Lord Lexington.*

(Translation.) Hague, June 13, 1697.

M. de Harlai[2] would do well to punish his son, who, with the openly declared intention of breaking the remaining arm of a gentleman who had already lost the other, seated himself with him in a carriage, then threw the reins on the neck of the horse, and, giving it five or six blows with the whip, jumped out. The gentleman, who is attached to the French embassy, broke his leg; but young M. de Harlai openly laments the failure, as he calls it, of his scheme, for he had hoped, he says, to have had the satisfaction of seeing him unable to eat his soup without assistance. You may, from this specimen, form a judgment of the character of this gallant, and of the manner in which some of the French youth amuse themselves at Delft.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, June 19, 1697.

The siege of Bihatz goes on very slowly, and I fear so many difficulties will be found at last that nothing will come of it. I forgot in my last to acquaint you that the Elector of Saxony has taken Prince Furst-

[1] M. de Bruynise was Secretary to the Dutch Plenipotentiaries at the Congress. He had previously held the appointment of Resident Minister for the United Provinces at Vienna.

[2] Achille de Harlai, the first President of the Parliament of Paris. St. Simon admits his great ability, but gives an unfavourable account of his temper and disposition, and adds that he ruled his family with severity, of which, however, the anecdote in this letter is no proof.

The following is an amusing example of the power of sarcasm for which M. de Harlai was celebrated:—

When consulted by M. de Mansard, the architect, who wished that his son should be named one of the Présidents à mortier, the First President coolly replied, "Monsieur Mansard, veuillez ne pas mêler votre mortier avec le nôtre."

enberg along with him to Dresden, and some think design to make him his Grand Maréchal and factotum. If so, I fear we had as good have Schoning alive again; and I think there will be little doubt to be made from whence came the propositions of France. [1]

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, June 20, 1697, N. S.

I am sorry to tell you the French are as forward in Catalonia as they are in Flanders. You have heard before of their approaches towards Barcelona, and yesterday an express arrived from the Captain General Don Francisco de Velasco, at his quarters at Marlordee, that the city was actually besieged both by sea and land: and this evening is come another, that they had already cast in 400 bombs from their ships and by land, and raised a battery at the convent of Capuchins, on which their guns were mounted, and began to play upon the place. Their army is generally agreed not to exceed 22,000 men, which makes both the Spaniards and Catalans look upon the attempt with the highest degree of contempt and indignation. They have 12,000 old troops in the town, besides 5000 or 6000 burghers, who have cheerfully taken arms, and, is said, very well know how to use them. The Captain-General has with him at Marlordee 3000 or 4000 foot and 3000 horse; and Don Miguel de Olazo commands, as all the advices say, at least 20,000 Miquelets, Somatenes, and other countrymen, all used to fire-arms from

[1] Prince Anthony Egon, of Furstenberg, the nephew of Cardinal Furstenberg, who was arrested for his intrigues with the French in 1673, and whose claims to the Archbishopric of Cologne formed one of the ostensible grounds for the renewal of the war between France and the Empire in 1688-89.

children, and who are voluntarily come in, in this exigence, in defence of their country. In confidence of this strength, orders are sent down from Court to attack the French in their lines by the forces without and the garrison at the same time, upon a signal given. Yesterday was the day appointed for this attempt, which being of so mighty consequence, our impatience cannot be less to know the success, which will be in two or three days, and probably the post will be detained till then; if so, you shall either have it in another letter or a postscript to this. His Catholic Majesty has had, since I wrote you last, three fits of his ague, but these last eight days has been very well. I have a little indisposition at present, which makes me use another hand, which I hope your Lordship's goodness will pardon; for I would by no means omit sending you so considerable a piece of news. The Count de Harrach is very assiduous at Court, but, I hear, advances little in his main business with the King, and much less with the Counsellors of State.

P.S. The post did not go away last night; and this evening, being the 21st, came another express from out the city of Barcelona, the 18th, who says the enemy continue bombing, but had done no great hurt; confirms the resolution of attacking them in their lines the next day, viz., the 19th; and they were so confident of utterly destroying them that they had possessed several passes to cut off their retreat.

The Earl of Pembroke to Lord Lexington.

Hague, June $\frac{15}{25}$, no date but 1697.

I received your Lordship's letter, and look upon

it as an honour to be in commission with you. I shall not trouble you with our affairs, Mr. Prior having directions to send you an account from time to time. Your Lordship remembers that about seven or eight months since one was committed at Rotterdam upon an information that he was going into England to murder the King. The Pensioner has lately had an account that he who made the information is assassinated at Harlem; he is stabbed in three places, but not yet dead. The person who stabbed him is fled, but forgot to take with him a letter which he first gave him to read. In it is writ, "You shall make no more informations." We have reason to pray God that all such wicked designs may be discovered.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, July 3, no date but 1697.

The Emperor ordered Count Zeill[1] to speak to me to write to you in favour of the Bishop of Ancona, who is going with letters from the Emperor to the Kings of Persia, India, and Ethiopia, which he did. I suppose his chief business is the conversion of those people, and, at the same time, to try if he can draw any of those Princes into the war against the Turks, though I don't find he is very much relied upon for that. If his Majesty is pleased to grant him what he desires, it may give the King a pretence of speaking in behalf, at any time if he pleases, of the poor Protestants in Hungary, who are barbarously treated.[2]

[1] One of the Imperial ministers.

[2] The Protestants of Hungary had on more than one occasion sought to obtain the good offices of the King of England in their favour. In 1694 Count Tekeli implored his interposition with the Emperor, and offered to join him with 6000 men to serve against France.

He desires me to add, that you may know all his qualities, that the Emperor has made him his Privy Councillor, and that he is born Duke of St. Elie.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, July 3, 1697.

I suppose before this you will have heard the surprising news of the Elector of Saxony's being chosen King of Poland by three parts in four of the nobility, the other having declared for the Prince of Conti. They have already sent a deputation to him to Breslau, where he now is, and the great Embassy, with the crown, is following as fast as possible. Never any surprise was greater at this court, for I dare swear they never knew one word of it till 't was done, and they had given him money to send his troops to the frontiers of Silesia to further the election of Prince James, all which he turned to his own advantage.[1] It 's said he

[1] The account here given of the election of the King of Poland is incorrect, and the court of Vienna was not so completely taken by surprise as Lord Lexington supposed; but the success of the Elector of Saxony was the result of a sudden and secret movement, in which the Emperor had little, if any share.

John Przependowski, Castellan of Culm, was the chief agent in the intrigue which unexpectedly changed the prospects of the contest for the crown of Poland.

The Castellan was equally versatile in religion and politics. He deserted the Protestant for the Roman Catholic faith, and having in turn supported the claims of Prince James Sobieski and of Prince Louis of Baden, he offered his services to promote the success of the Prince de Conti. He was, however, dissatisfied with the manner in which these offers were received; and in the beginning of the year 1697 he entered into a secret correspondence with the Elector of Saxony. This Prince only waited for a favourable opportunity to declare himself a candidate for the crown, and at once accepted the overtures of the Castellan. He sent an agent to the Pope, to announce his conversion to the Roman Catholic religion, and placed himself in secret communication with the Elector of Brandenburgh and the Emperor. He sold his claims on the Duchy of Saxe Lau-

changed his religion whilst he was at Baden in the hands of the Bishop of Raab,[1] who is a Prince of Saxony; but I do not see any good grounds for that report.

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, July 4, 1697, N. S.

Things are mightily changed at Barcelona since my last, and our confidence here is abated proportionably. The design of attacking the French both from

enburgh to the Elector of Hanover for 500,000 crowns, and demanded from the Emperor the payment of the subsidies which were due to him. Under the pretence of requiring supplies for the war in Hungary he raised large contributions from his own subjects, and entered into negotiations with the Jews at Warsaw for a loan. His army was at hand, and he was now fully prepared for the contest. On the day of election, the 26th of June, the names of all the candidates were announced in succession by the Cardinal Primate. Prince James's name was the first, and that of the Elector of Saxony the last. A large majority of the Palatinates declared in favour of the Prince de Conti; but the partisans of the rival Princes had ranged themselves in hostile array; blood had already been shed; and the Cardinal Primate, terrified at the prospect of a sanguinary conflict, deferred the completion of the election until the next day. In the interval the adherents of the other candidates combined against the Prince de Conti, and agreed to support the Elector of Saxony. On the 27th the Cardinal Primate announced that the election had fallen on the Prince de Conti; and M. de Polignac immediately despatched a courier to Paris to congratulate the Prince on his success; but a few hours afterwards Stanislaus Dombski, Bishop of Cujavie, proclaimed the Elector of Saxony King of Poland. A "Te Deum" was chanted for each; but it was now easy to foresee which of the two Kings would obtain the crown. The Prince de Conti was at Paris, while the Elector of Saxony was within a few days' march of Warsaw, with a powerful army at his disposal.—*Vide* L'Histoire de la Scission de Pologne, par M. de la Bizardière.

[1] Christian Augustus de Saxe Zeitz, Bishop of Raab, was the grandson of John George I. of Saxony. He was nominated to the bishopric of Raab by the Emperor in 1696. The laws of Poland required that their King should be a Roman Catholic; and the Bishop of Raab certified that the Elector of Saxony had embraced the Roman Catholic religion at Vienna on the 2nd of June. He was very well qualified to give such a certificate, for he had himself abjured the Protestant religion, in which he was educated.

within and without at the same time, it seems, proved impracticable, they were so strongly fortified; so that all done hitherto has been three or four sallies of the garrison with indifferent success, notwithstanding which the enemy still gained ground, and, the 28th of June, was very near the palisades, shooting continually bombs with fifteen mortars by land and two by sea, as also twenty-five great cannon, forty-pounders, that reach the city in all parts, and had then burnt and destroyed 2500 houses, besides several churches and convents. They had then cast in above 6000 bombs. The letters I have seen give little hopes of raising the siege, if it may properly be so called, since the French are so few as not to be able to make the whole circumvallation of it, but one gate has been constantly open for any to go in or out as freely as at any time; and, the 26th, 200 mules got in without opposition, that were laden with meal. Little other news can be expected hence till the fate of Barcelona be determined.

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, July 5, 1697.

The next post I hope I may be able to send you our project of a treaty which, with all secrecy, has been sent to the King, is come back, and given by Dyckvelt to the French. I presume I shall have leave to send it, though I am forbid to do so, even to the Secretary of State, [1]—and to say the truth out, have it

[1] It will be observed that throughout these negotiations the plenipotentiaries acted under the immediate directions of the King; and the Secretary of State, and other responsible advisers of the crown, in England, were carefully excluded from all share in the management of the treaty. It appears, however, from Coxe's 'Shrewsbury Correspondence,' that Lord Villiers did send on the 2nd July a copy of the pro-

not yet in my keeping, though I drew it up, which your Lordship may wonder at.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, July 6, 1697.

Pray, what say you to the election of the Elector of Saxony to the crown of Poland, and his making Furstenberg President of his Council in Saxony? For my part, I very much fear it will be the cause of great disturbances, and one time or other bring a war of religion.

We have very ill news from Hungary, the siege of Bihatz being as good as desperate; but what is worse, the people in the Upper Hungary are up in arms to the number of 10,000 men, and have fallen upon the garrisons of Tokay and four or five others and cut them all off, declaring for religion, liberty, and property. How far it may go, God knows; but if it is not quickly stopped, the consequences may be very ill.[1]

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, July 10, 1697.

The rebellion in Hungary continues, but how far it may proceed or what has yet passed is very confused, for they keep the relations very secret at Court. All that I can learn is, that it had been general had the

ject to the Duke of Shrewsbury, *although his colleagues were of opinion that it should not yet be communicated to anybody.*

[1] The Hungarian Protestants were treated with great severity by the Emperor; and the promises which had been held out to them in 1681 and 1687 had been very imperfectly fulfilled, if not entirely disregarded.

But the discontent in Hungary was not confined to the members of one religion; both Protestants and Roman Catholics were deeply offended at the recent encroachments of the Emperor on the ancient constitution of the kingdom.

Prince of Conti been chosen King of Poland, or the Grand Seignor come earlier into the field; but the one missing, and the other not advanced further than Philippopoli, 't is to be hoped the rebellion may be quelled before it can come to any great head. They have sent several regiments against them under the command of Prince Vaudemont, [1] with a small train of artillery, who had their rendezvous, as yesterday, within ten leagues of Tokay. Whatever may be the issue of this rebellion, 't is to be feared that if they will not change the barbarous usage, both in religion and civil matters, they now show the Hungarians, one time or other they will entirely throw off the Emperor's dominion. The quarrel between this Court and that of Rome augments daily; the Pope, having ordered the Emperor's declaration to be pulled down, has now printed and fixed it up with one of his own at the bottom, wherein he declares it null, and without foundation; that the Emperor has no authority or jurisdiction over any fief within the territories of the Church; threatening loss of life and estate to those that shall own any, and excommunication to the Ambassador if he persists in carrying on his master's pretensions. [2] So

[1] Charles Thomas de Lorraine, the young Prince de Vaudemont, distinguished himself in the war against the Turks. He continued to serve in the Imperial army during the war of the Succession, in which he was opposed to his father, who, as Viceroy of Milan, held that country for King Philip.

The ties of relationship were at this period very lightly regarded; and on one occasion the young Prince deliberately planned, and very nearly succeeded in, an attempt to take his father prisoner. The old Prince was completely surprised, and only escaped by mounting his horse in his night clothes.

[2] Count Martinitz, the Imperial Ambassador at Rome, had affixed to the door and other parts of his residence placards setting forth the decree by which the Emperor required all the feudatories of the empire in Italy to take new investitures. The Pope protested against this act, as an insult to the sovereignty of the Holy See.

that now they begin to own this as another ill consequence, among the rest, of the neutrality in Italy.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, July 13, 1697.

We had an account yesterday that a party of the rebels of 1500 men were cut off by the regiment of Slick, which I hope will be the fate of the rest in a short time, there being a body of 8000 or 10,000 men, under the command of Prince Commercy,[1] gone against them. 'Tis not to be imagined the alarms the poor country people were in, leaving their dwellings and flying with their children and best effects into the woods and isles of the Danube, even from the very suburbs of Vienna; and the whole town thronged with country people and their bundles, who came for refuge, but were all sent back again, and now everything is pretty quiet.

Mr. Stepney to Lord Lexington.

From the Camp at Coëklenberg, July $\frac{5}{15}$, 1697.

Your Lordship will know sooner than we shall which of the two Kings of Brentford get the better on't. But I believe you will admire the folly of the French for throwing away their powder after their money, and making rejoicings for Prince Prettiman, which is laughing but on one side of the face: for their Prince will be no more King of Poland than their Dauphin was of the Romans,[2] their Cardinal Furstenberg

[1] On the acceptance of the neutrality in Italy, the Prince de Commercy, with his friend Prince Eugene, joined the army in Hungary.

[2] It was well known that Louis XIV. had made overtures to some of the Electors with the view of obtaining for the Dauphin the reversion to the Imperial Crown; but the Austrian interest prevailed, and the

Elector of Cologne, or their Cardinal Bouillon Bishop of Liège.[1]

The men are mad to fancy any such thing, and still more mad to rejoice at it. The Cardinal Primate has bubbled them of their 80,000 dollars, and has only sung them a Te Deum for it,[2] which may be sufficient to give the poor man a mock title of King, and engage him in matter of ceremony with King James. I suppose in time the French King intends to form a band of pensioners of these gentlemen. When I have

Archduke Joseph, although very young, was unanimously chosen King of the Romans in January, 1690.

[1] The Archbishop of Cologne died in 1688. Louis XIV. recommended as his successor Cardinal de Furstenberg, the coadjutor of Cologne, and Bishop of Strasburgh. The Emperor, on the other hand, supported the pretensions of Prince Joseph Clement of Bavaria, Bishop of Freisingen and Ratisbonne. Neither of these candidates could be elected by the chapter, although they might be "postulés;" but to please the Emperor, the Pope declared the Prince of Bavaria "eligible," although he was affected by a double canonical disqualification, namely, the want of age required by the canons, and the possession of the sees of Freisingen and Ratisbonne; while the Cardinal de Furstenberg was disqualified only on the ground of his being Bishop of Strasburgh. The election took place on the 19th July, 1688, and thirteen canons gave their votes in favour of the Cardinal, while nine voted for the Prince of Bavaria. The Pope, however, rejected the "postulation," or recommendation of the first, and declared that the latter was duly elected Archbishop of Cologne. The ground of this decision was, that by the canonical law, in a contest between two candidates, one of whom was "eligible" and the other "postulable," one vote given to the former was equal to two votes given to the latter. The Cardinal, however, refused to submit to the Papal decision; and this dispute was one of the reasons alleged by Louis XIV. for the renewal of the war.

On the death of the Bishop of Liège in 1694, Cardinal de Bouillon, the nephew of Turenne, and Grand Almoner of France, was an unsuccessful candidate for the vacant bishopric. The Prince of Bavaria was elected.

[2] On arriving at the church of St. John, at Warsaw, the Cardinal Primate found the gates shut against him by the orders of the Bishops of Posnania and Livonia, and he was for some time unable to obtain admittance; but some of the nobles who accompanied him fired pistols at the windows of the offending prelates, until at length the doors were opened, and the "Te Deum" was chanted.

mustered my rhymes perhaps I may send your Lordship a dialogue between them, wherein they shall treat one another with "Majesty," as some formal German envoys and I used to compliment one another with the title of "Excellence."

M. de Bruynise to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Hague, July 15, 1697.

The French Plenipotentiaries were in conference at the residence of M. Boreel (who is always ill [1]), when one of M. Bosen's suite came with the announcement of the election of his master (the Elector of Saxony) to the crown of Poland. They did not venture to interrupt the conference, and he was therefore obliged to leave the message with one of the attendants of M. Boreel. The gentlemen attached to the French embassy were dying with impatience to communicate the news to their ambassadors; and at the departure of the Plenipotentiaries from the conference they did not wait for the delivery of the message by the person charged with it to Messrs. Dyckvelt and Haren, [2] but told it themselves to Messieurs Crecy and Callières [3] with so little caution that all could hear it. M. de Haren turned to M. de Crecy, and said, with a smile, "Gentlemen, you have gained a soul." M. de Crecy immediately replied, in a tone of voice, however, both sad and constrained, "But we have lost a kingdom." I am assured on good authority that the Electress of Saxony

[1] M. Boreel died shortly afterwards.

[2] William van Haren, born in 1626, was one of the most eminent diplomatists of the time. He was, notwithstanding his great age, appointed Ambassador to England in 1702 (he had held the same office in 1674). He died in 1708.

[3] The three French plenipotentiaries were Messieurs de Harlai, de Callières, and de Crecy.

was deeply grieved, and that the Saxons were as angry as Turks at the result of the election. [1]

Sir Joseph Williamson to Lord Lexington.

Hague, July 19, 1697.

We are expecting with impatience an account from your parts of the final completing of that great and surprising event of the election of a King of Poland in the person of the Elector of Saxony. We find the French talk as roundly and as confidently of the same choice being fallen on the Prince of Conti, and their Ambassadors at Delft—at least, those of their train—offer wagers on it. In the mean time 't is certain the Bishop of Plosko [2] (a great partisan of their faction in Poland) passed by here, in post, on Sunday last, with four other persons, of which two were observed to be Frenchmen, on their way to Paris. He stayed but a few hours, enough to hear mass at a meeting of some Jesuits, and to a short dinner and away. He came disguised enough to have gone as it seems he had come, undiscovered, quite through all the Elector of Brandenburgh's territories; but that in shifting his linen a servant observed a diamond cross on his breast

[1] The Electress of Saxony was the daughter of the Margrave of Brandenburgh Bareith, and a strict Protestant. She declined to accept the title of Queen; and when Prince Egon de Furstenberg, as Stadtholder, gave directions for the celebration of a mass, in honour of the election of the new King of Poland, she refused to acknowledge his authority, and ordered the gates of the chapel to be shut. The States of Saxony also protested against the apostacy of the Elector, and appealed to the will of his grandfather, John II., which required that all his successors should profess the Lutheran faith.

[2] Andrew Zalowski, Bishop of Plosko. On the day of the election (the 26th of June) this prelate preached a sermon, in which he compared himself to Samuel, the Prince de Conti to David, and the Elector of Saxony to Saul.

next his skin, which raised a jealousy that produced inquiry, and M. Bosen, it seems, hunted it so close that he found by the description of the person that it is certainly he; and Mollo of Amsterdam, the Polish Consul, comes so far as to own it was the Bishop's nephew.

Mr. Blathwayt to Lord Lexington.

Cocklenberg, July 19, 1697.

Mr. Stepney is indeed taken care of in England,[1] but I cannot say he leaves a vacancy in Germany, for that Count Frise is understood to have taken possession of all the Courts on the Rhine or near it; and for Ratisbonne, it is certain the King would never think of having anything like a Minister there, to engage himself in the affairs of the Empire, or to be made the Judge of all the impertinences of the Diet. So what I see most proper for Mr. Sutton is, to be left at Vienna when your Lordship comes away, which will introduce him into business advantageously. However, if your Lordship can think of anything else, I shall be very ready to promote whatever your Lordship shall judge feasible.

The election in Poland has very much surprised the world, and is like to give it no less trouble; but your Lordship will never be able to persuade the King or any one here that the Emperor and Count Chinski were ignorant of the Elector of Saxony's pretensions from the beginning. 'Tis an intrigue of the Jesuits,[2]

[1] Mr. Stepney was named one of the Commissioners for Trade.

[2] The Elector of Saxony was regarded as the head of the Protestant interest in the Empire; and his conversion therefore was a great triumph to the Roman Catholics.

very well carried on, but not without the privity of the Court of Vienna.

And now his Electoral Highness or Majesty of Poland has changed his religion, I suppose your Lordship will not make any overtures to him of the Garter, which no Popish Prince has in this age been willing to accept of. His Majesty is very well pleased that the political part of the business of Gustraw is so luckily accommodated, which may secure the quiet of the Lower Saxony.[1] All things here are, and are like to be for some time, in the same situation as at my last writing. The treaty at Ryswick goes on slowly, if at all. The French Ambassadors have promised to give in their project, which will show us what they mean.

Mr. Robinson to Lord Lexington.

Stockholm, July 10, 1697.

This week has employed this Court in giving public audiences and receiving condolences on occasion of the late King's death, and congratulations for his present Majesty's succession to the crown. On Monday the French ambassador had audience, and the next day was designed for the Envoy of Denmark, but it was put off upon a point of ceremony. On Wednesday I had that honour, as the Envoy of Lunenburgh the day after, and this afternoon the Baron de Heckeren. His Majesty appeared with a composedness and gravity suitable to the occasion, and on all

[1] Lord Lexington and Mr. Heemskerck succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between the courts of Vienna and Stockholm. The King of Sweden expressed his disapproval of the conduct of Colonel Klinkerstrom, and an "acte d'accommodement" was signed by Counts Chinski and d'Oxienstiern on the 5th July.

others gives proof of a judgment above his years, and of so much justice and generosity as charms all that have the honour to approach his person. I take the liberty to tell your Excellency a passage, which the Count Oxienstiern himself assures me is most true: Upon a debate in Council, some few days ago, about the re-establishing of foreign merchants, where it was urged on one side that the treaties were for, and on the other the laws of the kingdom against, their re-admission, the King said he thought it very unreasonable that the laws should take place before treaties; and being prayed by Count Oxienstiern to repeat those words (which at first were heard only by those next him), he did so, and added, that the laws mentioned being made by the Kings of Sweden, might be altered by the same authority;[1] but treaties were made with foreign Princes, and therefore nothing ought to be changed in them but by common consent of both parties.

Lord Villiers to Lord Lexington.

Hague, July 23, 1697, N. S.

You will have heard from the army of the interview between my Lord Portland and M. de Boufflers. The Imperialists here were a little uneasy at it, and desired to know the subject of it; which, by his Majesty's order, we have told them was to know the real intent of France as to the peace, and to declare to them that, if they were not sincere in the negotiation, his Majesty should not think himself obliged to consent

[1] In 1680 Charles XI. induced the States of Sweden to resign their privileges, and to invest the King with absolute power.

to its continuation; and that, on the other side, M. de Boufflers had answered that France did truly desire the peace, and that they had given orders to that intent to their Ministers at Delft. There passed something in those conferences relating to France's promising not to assist King James by name, which remains yet undetermined; though they promise to do it in any general terms that can be thought on.[1]

[1] William III. was impatient of the tardy progress and inconclusive results of the conferences at Ryswick, to which indeed the refusal of Louis XIV. to recognise the King of England, until the conditions of the Treaty had been definitely arranged, in some degree contributed; for by this refusal the English Plenipotentiaries were precluded from personally discussing with the French Ministers the terms of the peace. It was with the view of opening a direct, although informal, communication with the King of France, and of thereby removing one of the chief obstacles which had hitherto impeded the progress of the negotiations at Ryswick, that William III. directed Lord Portland to request Maréchal de Boufflers, of whose frank and honourable character he was well aware, to name a time and place for an interview. The first conference took place on the 8th of July, others succeeded it, and the terms of the peace between England and France were speedily settled by these two unaccredited Plenipotentiaries, each acting under the immediate directions of his own Sovereign. It has been frequently asserted that the first outlines of the Treaty of Partition were sketched at these interviews, and that proposals were made for the future restoration, on certain terms, of the son of James II.; but the 'Letters of William III., &c.,' lately published by M. Grimblot, conclusively prove that neither of these subjects was discussed, or even referred to directly, by Lord Portland or Maréchal de Boufflers. The following passage, however, appears in the letter of M. de Boufflers to Louis XIV., of the 9th of July, in which he gives an account of what passed at his interview with Lord Portland the preceding day:—"Lord Portland let fall a word, I believe purposely, but without appearing to lay stress upon it, that, perhaps, when peace was once concluded, and the agitation of people's minds calmed, your Majesty would not be sorry to have an ally like the Prince of Orange, and that then you would find him as conscientious in favouring the interests of your Majesty as he has hitherto been opposed to them." (*Vide* Letters of William III., &c., edited by M. Grimblot.) It is possible that Lord Portland referred to the contest which it was presumed would shortly arise between Louis XIV. and the Emperor with respect to the Crown of Spain, but, further than this, no reference was made to the question of the Spanish succession.

The account given by Lord Vil-

Sir Joseph Williamson to Lord Lexington.

Hague, July $\frac{20}{30}$, 1697.

The French have given into the mediator's hand a declaration, that in case the Allies shall not, before the end of August,[1] accept of the conditions offered by their master, that from thenceforth he will not hold himself obliged to make good to them the same terms. This the mediator has not thought fit, for the good of the negotiation and for fear of exaggerating matters, to communicate formally to the Imperialists and other Allies; yet, certain it is, that in case all imaginable diligence be not urged on their parts to carry on and close (if it may be) this negotiation on the French project, a day will be set by the French beyond which they will not tie themselves to these conditions. And

liers of what passed at the interview was substantially correct. Lord Portland's chief object was to ascertain to what extent and in what manner Louis XIV. would consent to pledge himself not to aid the deposed King in any attempt to recover the Crown of England, and if possible to induce him to withdraw from James the protection which he had hitherto afforded him, and to require his departure from France, or at least that he should seek an asylum more distant from England than St. Germain's. The first point was readily conceded by Louis, with this reservation, that King James should not be named, and that the promise should be couched in general terms—not to assist either directly or indirectly the enemies of King William—but he refused to give any assurance that King James would be removed from St. Germain's. Maréchal de Boufflers, however, let fall a hint that, on the conclusion of the peace, Avignon might possibly be selected for his residence, and with this Lord Portland was forced to rest satisfied. The other two questions discussed by Lord Portland and M. de Boufflers were of minor importance: they referred to the restitution of the property of the English and Irish Jacobites and of the French refugees, and to the exclusion of French Protestants from the town of Orange. These points were settled by mutual concessions; and as far as England was concerned, nothing remained but the formal adoption at the Congress of the terms which had thus been arranged at these informal interviews.

[1] This term was subsequently extended to the 20th of September.

the truth is it is absolutely necessary (as to our master's interests) that no further time be lost, but that we may be at a certainty what we are to expect from France. This is the great cry of England to us here; and therefore the King did mighty wisely (as we in England think, and so all here seem to acknowledge) that he did so generously, so bravely summon the French by my Lord Portland to declare plainly if they were in earnest as to the peace; and if not, that he did not see any further use of continuing this assembly at Ryswick.

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, Aug. 2, 1697.

The case of Barcelona is not yet quite desperate, although, on the other side, we have no great reason to be over confident. However, it seems something more hopeful by the changes we have had here in few days. Three nights ago, Don Juan de Larrea was discharged from his office of the Despacho Universal, [1] and the Marques de Villa Nueva, Secretary of the southern province, has since despatched all affairs with the King. Larrea is accused of concealing all along from the King the true state of Barcelona, refusing access to their agent here, stifling the complaints of the Marques Grini against the Captain-General Don Francisco de

[1] The system of Spanish administration, at this time, was to divide business among several Boards or Councils, such as those of Finance, Grace, and Justice, Castille, Italy, and Flanders—and the Presidents of these several Councils formed again a sort of Superior, or Cabinet Council, under the name of Despacho Universal.—*Vide* Mahon's History of the War of the Succession.

In this instance, however, the term 'Despacho Universal' is applied to the Secretary of the Council, and not to the Council itself.

Velasco, as also letters from the kingdom of Aragon offering levies of men. Some add further, that he has writ letters in the King's name, by which several other succours designed for the besieged have been retarded; and all this in compliance with a considerable faction in Court, who, I thank God, are no longer able to support him. Velasco was yesterday recalled by the Council of Aragon, and the Marques de la Corzana ordered to succeed him; and the Prince of Hesse, to whose bravery we owe that the place has held out so long, is made Governador de los Armas. These despatches were sent away by express early this morning. The Cardinal of Toledo has been the discoverer of all this mystery of iniquity, who has till lately been much the Queen's enemy, but now is much in her favour, and by her means in the King's. Greater changes are expected daily to follow in consequence of this, as the King's Confessor, the Conde de Adanero, the Presidents of Castilla and Hazienda, it is said, must out; and a greater than any of these,[1] who influenced them, it is supposed, will quickly be laid aside. I hope this may do something to the saving Barcelona even now, but had it been sooner it had never been brought to this extremity. Count de Harrach had his first public audience last week; his entry was with the least magnificence or ostentation of grandeur of any Ambassador that has been in Madrid, which is not much liked by this ceremonious people. He has not been pleased to take any notice of me since his arrival, and having done it long since to all other Ministers, I conclude he designs that omission as a compliment of complaisance to his Catholic Majesty, with whom I have the mis-

[1] Probably the Almirante of Castille.

fortune at present to be in disgrace. The Count de Harrach has desired the Cardinal for his Commissario, which is granted him.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, Aug. 3, 1697.

I do not question the election in Poland has surprised you, as it has done us, but I believe it will in a little time be fully determined for the Elector of Saxony. The Grand Ambassador, with above five thousand noblemen, is come for him, and he is marched directly to Cracow to be crowned. I cannot help your not believing that this Court was ignorant of the Elector's pretensions, and, indeed, it seems very improbable; but still I dare venture to assure you—and I am as morally convinced of it as a man can be of a negative—that neither the Emperor nor Count Chinski knew any more of it till the day before the Elector went hence than the men at Bantam; and yet I grant you 't was the work of the Jesuits, the chief of which, and the Emperor's favourite, died yesterday—Padre Edra. I wish he had gone a year sooner, and then that peace of Italy had never been made.

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Aug. 6, 1697.

As to what relates to the project, I hope the French will find it reasonable. All that I can say for myself in it is, that it is as good as I could draw up upon memorials, not very perfect, which they sent me from Whitehall about our affairs in America, where, amongst a bundle of strange stuff, I was forced to find

out wherewithal to form the fourth and seventh articles.[1] As to the secret articles about King James, my Lord Portland and the Maréchal de Boufflers have fully adjusted them. His Lordship came hither from Breda on Sunday, and left us yesterday afternoon in order to his meeting the King at Dieren to-morrow night. He was with the Imperialists and Spaniards, and, I believe, told the former what they had to trust to: they promise to give in their remarks upon the French project on Wednesday, and are much more supple than they were last week. The Pensioner is made one of the ambassadors upon Mons. Boreel's illness, says common report, but I believe some part of Dyckvelt's conduct has contributed to this addition. I have always been of your Lordship's opinion that the great point ought to have been settled first; and it has been found so necessary since, that I think Dyckvelt's not having made it fast is a little the reason of his not being well at Court, as it was the cause of my Lord Portland's extraordinary way of negotiating what they perceived had been neglected too long, and could not be otherwise retrieved. Peace will be the word, and our Imperialists can give no reason why they should not accept it rather now than four months hence, except it be that the Augustissima Casa never did anything when they should. I would not have my Lady defer her lying-in one moment for the box, for I will search incessantly for it; but, for God's sake, let her have a boy, or she will spoil a handsome panegyric I am making for her on that occasion.

[1] It was proposed, in these articles, that all the captured colonies in America and the West Indies should revert to the rightful proprietors.

Sir Joseph Williamson to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Aug. 16, 1697.

I doubt not but you have long ere this received an account at large, as well of the contents of the French project, as of the several conferences held between my Lord Portland and Monsieur de Boufflers, the effect of which has been the adjusting the great point of the peace which concerns us and our master; to wit, the not assisting the late King James, &c. This is finally settled to his Majesty's entire satisfaction; and as to the rest of our articles, which are not above half a score or a dozen, they are of that ordinary and common nature in all treaties of this kind, that there is not like to be much difficulty in them.

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, Aug. $\frac{6}{16}$ 1697.

Having acquainted your Lordship last post of the change of the Government of Catalonia, that Don Francisco de Velasco was recalled, and the chief command given to the Conde la Corzana, and the Prince of Hesse made Governador de los Armes or Lieut. General under him, I have now to add that before these new commissions arrived, Don Francisco de Velasco had begun a capitulation with the Duke of Vendôme for the surrender of Barcelona, and hostages were exchanged. This he pretends an order for doing, and here it is said the King disowns the knowledge of any such order; both are possible, so let them justify themselves who are concerned. However, it seems the new Governor, upon viewing the French mines, the great breach in

their wall, the ill contrivance of their cortaduras or retrenchments within, on which they had so much depended (being infiled by the enemy's forts), together with the weakness of the garrison, thought fit to proceed in and conclude the treaty, which was all agreed the 10th instant at night, and signed the next morning. The conditions are, that the garrison should march out by the breach the 15th, being yesterday, with all the military marks of honour usual on such occasions; to carry with them twenty-five pieces of cannon and six mortars, besides all that is in the citadel of Monjuy; that they are to march by the nearest way to Tarragona, and that there be a suspension of all hostility on both sides till the 1st day of September. As to the city, that it shall enjoy all the same privileges it had under the King of Spain, except that of the holy office of the Inquisition. This is the substance of what I can learn, brought by an express yesterday; and though it be endeavoured to be kept a secret here, I doubt not but, within a few days, you will see it printed more at large in the Paris Gazette. All people generally look very melancholy upon this news, but especially her Majesty and the Count Harrach, it being the greatest mortification that could happen to the German interest here, which, however they may flatter themselves at Vienna, was low enough before, both in the opinion of Court and people.

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Aug. 16, 1697.

My Lord Villiers is made an Earl; the warrant is not yet signed; the title he intends to take is Jersey.

We expect the Czar of Muscovy here in a few days, which is all the news at present.[1]

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, Aug. 31, 1697.

Things in Poland seem to go well for the Elector of Saxony, most of the palatinates and great towns having acknowledged him; and they that hold out, as they say, do it only with a prospect of making their terms the better, having little hopes of the Prince of Conti's coming.[2] Young Count Harrach, who was in Spain with his father, is declared Ambassador in his stead, and the old one returns.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, Sept. 4, 1697.

I am just come from Court, where a staffette is come from the camp in Hungary, which brings that the Turks, with their whole army, have passed the Tibisk, and are advanced as far as Copila, and are actually marching towards Peterwaradin, and their fleet are advanced as far as the isles of that place, in order to attack the bridge. Our army are near Segedin, where they expect to be joined by the body under the command of General Rabutin, who commands in Transylvania, and after that junction they design to march

[1] In February, 1697, Peter suppressed a formidable conspiracy of the Strelitzes against his life, and in April he commenced his celebrated tour.

[2] M. de Polignac had no intelligence of the movements or intentions of the Prince; the Queen Dowager of Poland, who was at Dantzic, intercepted his despatches, and insultingly forwarded to him the empty covers.—*Dangeau's Memoirs.*

direct towards the enemy, who otherwise may hinder the communication between them and their magazines, so that in my next I may probably send you account that there has been a general battle. God send us good success, for we play for the tout.

(Translation.) Brussels, Sept. 9, 1697.[1]

Upon advices received from the Primate of Poland, the King has resolved to send the Prince de Conti thither. After a long conference His Majesty caused to be delivered to him 100,000 louis d'or and 2,000,000 livres in bills of exchange. The departure of the Prince is regretted by the whole Court. He left on the 2nd instant for Dunkirk, to embark with Jean Bart,[2] who has received instructions to convey him to Dantzic or Marienburgh. Many persons have offered the Prince supplies of money; and they say that the Abbé de Lignivère, among others, has lent him 100,000 livres. Pointis arrived at Brest with six ships on the 29th of August, having narrowly escaped being taken by Admiral Nevil. He fell in with another English squadron in the Channel, but he changed his course in the night, and they lost sight of him. He brings six millions in money and a quantity of fine emeralds. The messenger who carried the news of his arrival to the Court presented one of great value to His Majesty. He has lost

[1] This letter bears no signature.

[2] Jean Bart was the son of a common fisherman at Dunkirk. His success as a privateer captain recommended him to the notice of Louis XIV., and in 1691 he was raised to the rank of Admiral in the French navy: he was presented to the King; and when his Majesty announced to him in gracious terms his promotion, Jean Bart excited the laughter of the assembled courtiers by the following reply: "Sire, vous avez bien fait." This self-confidence, however, was fully justified by his active bravery and naval skill.

more than half his men, and they require the remainder to perform quarantine before they land.[1]

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, Sept. 13, 1697.

Since the loss of Barcelona there has been no further action in Catalogne; and though M. de Vendôme refused to prolong the cessation, yet there seems a tacit consent to be quiet till they see what will become of the peace. The French are indeed very sharp in levying contributions on the country round about, which this Court interprets as a good sign they do not intend to stay long among them. I know not what to think of that matter; but this is certain, that if the place be restored, it will be a great disappointment to the party here who industriously contrived, and with so much difficulty procured, to have it surrendered, when not only the garrison, but all the citizens, were

[1] Jean Bernard Desjeans, Baron de Pointis, left Brest on the 9th of January, 1697, with a small squadron fitted out by private subscription. He first sailed to St. Domingo, where he was joined by a strong body of buccaneers: on the 12th of April he arrived before Carthagena, and on the 2nd of May this wealthy town capitulated. The booty acquired by the captors was estimated at eight, or as some said at ten, millions of crowns. De Pointis then sailed for the Straits of Bahama, where he fell in with the combined British and Dutch fleets under Admiral Nevil: he escaped, however, with the loss of one vessel, and bore away for Newfoundland, where Commodore Norris was stationed with a strong squadron; but the council-of-war summoned by the British Commodore declined to risk an engagement, and De Pointis proceeded on his voyage unmolested. He fell in with another English squadron in the Channel, under Captain Harlow, by whom he was attacked, but he again escaped, and arrived in safety at Brest with his spoil. The impunity with which this small squadron, fitted out by private enterprise, had scoured the seas, and taken one of the most important, if not the chief, trading town in America, cast a stigma on the British flag, and increased the unpopularity of the government, and of Admiral Russell in particular, to whom the management of naval affairs was confided.

as unanimously courageous to defend it as the first day the French came before it. The Count Harrach is most highly sullen and malcontent, all his projects having miscarried. He now talks of nothing but returning, and that the Emperor wants him at Vienna, and will send us his son in his stead. He and all that interest here are very angry at our King about the equivalent for Luxemburgh;[1] but now, I believe, this Court would be glad to quit even that equivalent for Barcelona, for, provided they can keep their dear body of Spain entire, they little value what they part with *entre aquellos.*

(Translation.) Camp, three hours from Zenta, Sept. 15, 1697.[2]

During the day, he (Prince Eugene) received intelligence that the enemy was still at Zenta; this intelligence was confirmed in the evening, and it was ascertained that at mid-day their army was encamped there. The Prince thereupon resolved to advance against them the following morning.

Our march was in twelve columns, six of cavalry and six of infantry, without counting the artillery, which with the baggage made the thirteenth. We advanced to within three hours of Zenta without hearing any thing of the enemy; but, at length, the hussars of Raab brought in a Pasha whom they had taken in a skirmish, who stated that the Turks had

[1] The French King now insisted on retaining both Luxemburgh and Strasburgh—and the Spanish ministers showed a disposition to accept the equivalent offered for the former place.

[2] This letter is in French and bears no signature, but it is clearly the translation of a letter addressed by an officer of the Imperial army in Hungary to some one at Vienna, which was forwarded to Lord Lexington for his information.

since the previous day been engaged in passing the Tibisk, and that the Sultan himself, with a part of the cavalry and some Janissaries, had crossed the river, but that the remainder of the infantry was still on this side. His Highness continued to advance, and further intelligence was received from other prisoners, and also from the country people, that the enemy were still crossing the river in disorder, and that they were much dispirited. At length we approached them, and prepared to form in order of battle. His Highness had determined to advance, with all the cavalry, within a certain distance of the enemy, to reconnoitre, and there to await the arrival of his infantry, which, as they came up, were to occupy positions, left for them, between the different squadrons of cavalry, and the whole army being formed up, was then to advance to within a quarter of an hour of Zenta.

The Prince now went to the front, and was there joined by two regiments from the left, and three from the right wing, cavalry or dragoons, while the army, which was near at hand, gradually came up. He then ordered the five regiments which had followed him, to their respective posts. The whole army immediately marched at an even pace to surround the enemy on all sides, and advanced as far as the first intrenchment which the Sultan had caused to be thrown up to secure his position, and which the troops who remained there were not strong enough to defend throughout its whole extent. The Turks here commenced a furious cannonade upon our left. The Prince had already brought up some cannon to annoy them, but they did little execution, reserving their fire, as it appeared, for a more pressing emergency.

Our right and left wings at length, but with great difficulty, pushed through the first intrenchment; the centre met with little opposition, as the Turks were intrenched only on their flanks. But the main body of the army could advance but slowly, and the Prince, therefore, having visited every post, to see that his orders were strictly obeyed, went to reconnoitre the second intrenchment of the enemy, behind which was a third, which had been hidden by the second, and was now discovered for the first time. Between these two intrenchments was a barricade constructed of waggons. Having examined every thing in this quarter, the Prince then went to the left, where he found that the Turks might be taken in the rear, for they had neglected to push their intrenchments as far as the river, and the bridge was uncovered. He immediately profited by this discovery, and directing some cannon to play on the rear of the enemy, he ordered the Prince de Vaudemont to charge them on the flank. The whole army was at hand, and all hastened to advance. The Prince put himself at the head of the regiment of Stirum, and led it to the brink of the ditch of the intrenchment, which, although not wide, was very deep. Both infantry and cavalry commenced firing on all sides, and for a full hour a most tremendous fire was heard from all quarters. At length, and after a terrible resistance, the Turks, who were completely surrounded, began to fall back, and, a few moments afterwards, they fled from the intrenchments which the Prince had attacked. His Highness did not move from the ditch until every one destined for the attack had passed into it.

"The Turks, who were closely followed by our people, defended but faintly the barricade and last intrench-

ment; and his Highness, seeing the success of the attack on the left, hastened to visit the rest of the field, and had the satisfaction of finding that victory had everywhere declared in his favour, with a carnage of the enemy unexampled in any previous war. The Sultan, foreseeing the disastrous issue of the day, sent his principal officers, and all his available troops, to succour those who were most hardly pressed. The Grand Vizier, who was at the head of the bridge with his guards and some executioners, to intimidate the fugitives and to prevent their flight, was killed by them; and the Sultan, in dismay, fled at full speed, leaving his cannon, tents, ammunition, and provisions. He has lost more than 100 pieces of cannon, seven Pashas' tails, and more than 300 standards, among which are those which are most highly esteemed. The signet of the Sultan also, which the Vizier wears round his neck, and other Turkish relics are taken. The Turks themselves admit that they have lost more than 20,000 of their best infantry, and all their most distinguished officers: our loss did not exceed 500 killed, and 1,200 or 1,300 wounded; among whom are two generals of our artillery, Monsieur the Comte de Heusler, and Monsieur le Comte Reis de Saxe, who had a leg broken, but hopes are entertained of his recovery. It rarely so happens, but on this occasion all behaved so well, that envy itself has been unable to find fault with any one. The Tibisk was red with blood, and the bridge was broken by the number of corpses under it, which forced it upwards. There are more than 6000 drowned, and they say that the river is now covered with dead bodies. Six pieces of cannon were found two leagues on the road

to Temeswar, and material that has been abandoned is seen on every side. We have still detachments out in the direction of Temeswar.

We were obliged to decamp yesterday, on account of the stench, and we marched three hours higher up the river. The action took place on the 11th, after five in the afternoon, and ended at sunset. The bridge, with the equipage for its transport, was built at Belgrade last winter by a Frenchman. It is very well constructed, and we shall profit by it. At this moment a deserter has arrived from Temeswar; he states that the Sultan arrived there on Thursday, with only 2000 men, and it is reported that the whole of the infantry has been destroyed. [1]

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Sept. 17, 1697.

My Lord Portland has been again in Flanders, but has gained nothing more from the Maréchal de Boufflers than a civil answer; the negotiation is, however, on foot again, though the Imperialists take no more notice that the 20th [2] is nigh than if it were never to come. My Lord Villiers, or Earl of Jersey rather,

[1] Prince Eugene had, on many previous occasions, displayed the most daring personal bravery and great military skill, but hitherto he had been employed in a subordinate capacity, and the battle of Zenta was the first general engagement in which this great Captain directed the movements of an army as Commander-in-Chief.

The victory was complete; but the battle was fought in defiance of positive instructions not to risk a general action, and on his return to Vienna the Prince was received with frowns by the Emperor and his ministers, who even contemplated placing the victorious General under arrest for disobedience to orders.

[2] The French ministers had declared that, unless the peace was concluded by the 20th Sept., the King of France would not consider himself bound to adhere to the conditions which he had offered.

has been with the King, and has brought us his Majesty's order to act as the Dutch and Spaniards do: we are accordingly adjusting the points in controverse between us by the means and mediation of the Dutch Embassy. I send your Lordship inclosed the chief articles. No. 1 is that relating to King James, to which (God be thanked!) they have agreed, and I think it has lost nothing in the translation from French, as I shall show your Lordship, if ever I have the honour of being a little nearer you. No. 2 is the thing to which the King consents as to Queen Marie's settlements; it is fairly giving her what the law allows her.[1] The mediator is to dictate this paper to the French, and enter it into his protocol, and so I think we shall come off *à bon marché* upon that article. No. 3 is the article of Orange, which principally is now readjusted upon the foot as it was at Nimeguen; the Pensioner and the Dutch Embassy had the management of this article, and we had nothing more to do with it than to translate it out of d——d French into almost as bad Latin, and to insert it into our treaties. No. 4 is the article for naming commissioners for trade; it is ready, as your Lordship sees, in case the French desire such an agreement with us: the balance of trade is most evidently on our side in case they do not, and the article may sleep. The point yet undecided is the possession of two forts in Hudson's Bay, which the French took from us in the peace im-

[1] 50,000*l.* per annum had been settled on Queen Mary Beatrice by Act of Parliament, and William III. promised that this sum should be henceforth regularly paid. Lord Portland afterwards asserted that the promise was conditional on the removal of King James from St. Germain's, but this was denied by M. de Boufflers. However this may be, King James remained at St. Germain's, and William refused to pay the Queen's dowry.

mediately preceding this war,[1] and which we have retaken since the war. The French will have possession of them again by virtue of the article of general restitution, No. 5, in which your Lordship sees that everything is set upon the same foot as the beginning of the war, this being judged both the safest and most honourable way. I am forming a subsequent article to refer the decisions of our rights to these places (which both parties pretend to very tenaciously) to commissioners, and to-morrow I think we may hope for a conclusive answer from the French on that subject, as it is time we should have, if we think of finishing the whole on Friday. For the rest of the treaty, it is much on the foot as that of 67,[2] some alterations only made a little better of our side, and our empire supra Maria Britannica asserted, though we have no formal answer from the French as to these less points of expression and style, and shall have enough to do to concert the whole by Friday. This is the present state of our affair, of which I could not give you sooner any tolerable account, there having been such altering and blotting till we could make it any way bear, as your Lordship will easily guess in a thing of this nature, especially considering our sorry circumstance of being obliged to speak by the mouth of other people. If I may send you the whole signed this day se'nnight, you will be glad, I dare swear, though I fear you may run the risk of being impaled for a rebel to the Augustissima Casa—for as to Count Kaunitz and his brethren, as I may say to your Lordship, they never intended a peace without

[1] Forts Rupert and Albany were claimed by the French, who took possession of them in 1686: they were recovered by the English in 1693.

[2] The Treaty of Breda.

being forced to it, so all they expect is time for them to come in; for I think the Spaniard will certainly sign, and I believe neither we nor the Dutch shall let this term slip in a complaisance that can do nobody good, and may be our ruin. I confess, my dear Lord and master, I pity you. Don't dine with Kin,[1] and come away as fast as you can.

Lord Villiers to Lord Lexington.

Sept. 20, N. S., 1697.

This is the day that is to decide our great affair, and unless the French have some trick that we are not aware of, the Spaniards, Dutch, and we shall sign the peace this evening upon the foot of the last project that the French gave in. The Emperor and Empire (as it was always thought) will not sign, though it is plainly seen that most of them are well satisfied with the equivalent for Strasburgh. We have taken care to get them to the 1st of November to come in, and I think they have no reason to be dissatisfied with us, all things considered.[2]

[1] Count Kinsky.

[2] The Emperor, however, thought otherwise; and on the 14th September he addressed a letter to William, in which he complained of the injustice of the conditions offered by France, and charged him with having deserted his allies. It will however appear, on an impartial review of the proceedings at the Congress, that this charge was not borne out by the facts. France was, no doubt, exhausted by the war, but the condition of the Allies was not more prosperous; and if the relative positions and prospects of the contending parties are fairly considered, it will be found that the terms offered by Louis were as favourable as the Allies had any right to expect.

There can indeed be little doubt that the Emperor would gladly have accepted these terms had he not foreseen that the conclusion of a peace between France and Spain, during the life of Charles II. of Spain, would materially interfere with the prosecution of his own claims on the succession to the Crown of that country. He did not indeed venture to avow these views, but William was well aware that the

Mr. Blathwayt to Lord Lexington.

Loo, Sept. 20, 1697.

I hope your Lordship will not stand in need of more instructions relating to the peace, which we shall be very sorry not to have concluded this day, there being no material obstruction foreseen, a great part of the Empire agreeing to accept the equivalent for Strasburgh; and should not the ministers of the Emperor do so too, it would be yet more strange than anything that has yet happened, since we know nothing can be really more acceptable to them, who are the only gainers by it, besides the advantage to Holy Church. Count Auersperg has been very troublesome with his concerning himself for the Irish, in reference to the Acts that are passing in that parliament. He excepts particularly against two—one for banishing the regular clergy, and

real object of the Emperor was, not to obtain from France better terms for the Empire, of which he could have little, if any, hope, but to protract the contest until he had obtained from the King of Spain a declaration that the Archduke Charles should succeed to the Crown, or the death of that monarch placed him in a position openly to assert the Imperial claims to the throne of Spain.

On these grounds, then, the Emperor was averse to peace; and the real question at issue between William and his Imperial Ally was, not whether the terms offered by France were reasonable or not, but whether the war should be continued by the Allies for the purpose of aiding the Emperor in his views with regard to Spain.

It is true that, by a secret article in the Treaty of 1689, William was pledged to aid the Emperor in his pretensions to the Spanish Crown, *if the King of Spain should die without issue*, but this contingency, although imminent, had not yet occurred, and however unwilling William might be to see the re-establishment of peaceful relations between France and Spain, he was not, at the time, in a position, nor was he bound, to enter into such a contest as that in which the Emperor really, although not avowedly, wished to engage him; but it was not until he saw that any further delay in accepting the proposals of Louis would infallibly lead to the substitution of less favourable conditions, if not to the rupture of the negotiations, that he at length signed the separate Treaty with France.

the other obliging the Papists to educate their children in the Protestant religion. The first the King would have pass, as being, indeed, no prejudice to the Roman Catholic religion, and an advantage to the secular priests, that are starved by the monks. The latter Act the King has ordered to be stopped till he have an account of it, which, if as represented by Count Auersperg, may perhaps not pass. The order, at least, that is given about it seems to please the Count, so I hope your Lordship will not be importuned about it by the ministry. Benbow is really gone in pursuit of Bart and the Prince of Conti, it having been impossible to hinder those light frigates from getting out of the port and road in the night.[1]

Sir Joseph Williamson to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Sept. 24, 1697.

I am sorry I had not the conveniency of communicating to your Lordship, so early as the importance of such an advice did deserve, the news of the peace having been signed at Ryswick the 20th instant, between the King our master, the Crown of Spain, and the States on one side, and the French King on the other. We may call it the 20th, though indeed three such several treaties could not be got finally adjusted and writ fair, so as to be signed and sealed, till it was near three o'clock the next morning. We were much concerned that we had not been able to carry the rest of our allies along with us in this work. No pains, no endeavours, not only among us here, but even of the King in his personal interpositions as well as by the sending of my Lord Portland into Flanders, had been wanting these

[1] Admiral Benbow failed to intercept the Prince.

last seventy days to obtain from France what they now were willing and desirous to accept—I mean the restitution of Strasburgh: but the French were immovable, and, to say truth, it was not easy to reply on our side to what they answered: to wit, that it was the fault of the Allies themselves if they had not what they now [1] for, because for six weeks together they had it in their power to have kept Strasburgh. But your Lordship is not unacquainted with the maxims and practice of that side of the world in these cases, and there is no mending of them. We have each of us, in the treaty we have made, made a provision by a particular article that the Emperor and Empire shall have a further delay till the 1st of November next to accept the conditions offered by France in their declaration of the 1st instant; and with much ado (and it did cost a very great deal of trouble to all of us) prevailed with the Imperial embassy to sign an article, or act, with the French, whereby they each oblige themselves to a suspension of arms till the 1st of November, under the good liking and approbation of their masters, the one for France, the other for the Emperor and Empire; and this was, after much difficulty, done last night at Ryswick. The King our master has likewise furnished an expedient for a like cessation of all hostilities in the Spanish Netherlands, now presently upon the signing of peace, whereas it would not have otherwise taken place till after the exchange of the ratification on the part of Spain; and that expedient is, that the King gives an act or promise under his hand to France that Spain shall ratify within the time limited: in consequence of which the French forces are forthwith to draw out of the Spanish Nether-

[1] A word here is illegible, but the meaning of the sentence is obvious.

lands. Thus stand the rest of our matters at present, and we are hoping our allies will take no further time to end a business which they see must at last be done, though I know the usual rule with some is never to do a business till it be too late.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, Sept. 25, 1697.

"This post affords little to acquaint you with, only that we find the late victory in Hungary more considerable every day, and the consternation the Turks are in cannot be greater. Yet I fear it is so late in the year, that we shall hardly be able to make any further use of it. Prince Vaudemont, who brought the news, is made General of the Cavalry, and he indeed deserves it, for there cannot be a better sort of man, and he will be very considerable if he lives. They say the Prince of Conti is arrived at Dantzic with 300 officers, and bills to a very considerable value;[1] however, the Elector of Saxony has the advantage to be crowned,[2] which is no small matter, and, by this victory in Hungary, may be able to withdraw his troops from thence, and will then have a body of 20,000 of his own Saxons, besides the assistance of the Emperor, so that I think he has a pretty sure game; yet there will be lusty struggling between those two young Princes. This victory has made the Court very high; they talk of nothing but

[1] The Prince de Conti embarked at Dunkirk on the 7th of September, and arrived in the Roads off Dantzic on the 26th; but the burghers of this town refused to receive him, and declared in favour of his rival.

After waiting for more than a month in the vain hope that his adherents would rally round him, and enable him to strike a blow for the Crown of Poland, the Prince announced on the 29th of October his determination to return to France.

[2] The Elector was crowned King of Poland on the 15th of September.

carrying on the war themselves, though we should make a peace. The Lord help them! they are just as able to do it as I; and whatever they may promise you below, 't is not in their power to perform, and their offers will prove just like Diego's will in the Spanish Curate, who, when they asked him where they should find all the legacies he made, answered, even where they pleased.

Lord Villiers to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Sept. 29, N. S., 1697.

The news of the defeat of the Turkish army came the day after we had signed the peace; if it had come sooner, what we have done would have been more disliked. The Circles and most of the German Princes seem satisfied with his Majesty's proceeding, and see that nothing has been wanting in him to procure them better conditions, which the posture of affairs would not permit. The letters from England will tell of Mr. Prior's being arrived there, and how welcome the news was that he carried.

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Oct. 1, 1697.

You will not expect a regular correspondent in a man who has drawn up a treaty, carried it into England, and is returned hither in a week's time: this hurry must not, however, hinder me from returning your Lordship my humblest thanks for yours till that of the 18th of September; nor must all the welcome the Lords Justices in England made me, let me be less dutiful to my good Lord and master at Vienna; in one word, that noble nation from whence I came are so overjoyed at the

peace that they are all fit for Bedlam, whilst our Hollanders here are more soberly joyful, and some of them with reason, for it is certain the merchants, at least many of them, lose by the peace. I send your Lordship at length a treaty, as I have sent most of it by piecemeal before. I know not how you will like the separate article at Vienna, nor the act which the King has signed.[1] The promise the King makes that Queen Mary shall have what she may pretend to by law is infinitely better as it was done, viz., the mediator, after the peace was signed, reading the dicta, than if it had been concerted and mentioned in any article; and thus this great business is done. Your Imperialists (as I used to call them) are heartily mad with us, but dare not say so; they are so wise, however, in their anger as to think seriously of coming in before November, and then, I hope, your Lordship may not apprehend what K——[2] and his mob may meditate against you. We are paying and receiving visits to and from Delft, which I hate more than the drudgery of making the treaty. You, on the contrary, are, I see, killing Turks like flies; if it had been done a year or two sooner, you might even have hooked us on again into a war, but as it is, 't is only bad for the poor Turks that are knocked on the head, and there is an end on 't.

M. de Bruynise to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Hague, Oct. 1, 1697.

The Muscovite Ambassadors made their public entry the day before yesterday, and were attended by

[1] For the purport of the separate article and Act referred to, see Sir Joseph Williamson's letter of the 24th of September, p. 305.

[2] Count Kinsky.

an infinite number of carriages. Their liveries, which are of red cloth, richly adorned with pure silver, are splendid, and their three carriages are very handsome: in short everything is magnificent. Nothing is to be seen but liveries embroidered with gold or silver: you would say that all the gaiety of Venice was transferred to the streets of the Hague, and gentlemen here appear metamorphosed into valets, or valets into gentlemen. The Czar is at Texel; he intends to be present incognito at the public audience of his Ambassadors, which will take place as soon as possible.

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, Oct. 11, 1697, N. S.

This Court is so transported with joy for a peace so far beyond their expectation, that for these last ten days we see nor hear nothing but public demonstrations of it in all kinds. Their Catholic Majesties went yesterday afternoon in great state, with a cortége of most of the grandees, to pay their devotions of thanks at Nuestra Señora de Atocha, and we are to have a fiesta de toros the 24th of this month, which your Lordship knows is the Spaniard's *ne plus ultra* of festivals. I hear nothing of the conditions of the peace yet as to England, but doubt not but that his Majesty, who has done so much for Spain, has also provided for his own and our security.[1]

[1] This letter appears in 'The Court of Spain under Charles II.,' edited by Lord Mahon.

(Translation.) Paris, Oct. 11, 1697.

It is true that we have not shown marks of great joy at the news of the peace, for it is generally believed that we shall not benefit much by it. The revenues of the King are so deeply mortgaged, that it will be necessary to raise taxes to pay off the debts incurred during the war. The King, moreover, is by no means disposed to retrench his expenses. Extensive buildings are at this moment in contemplation, besides the new fortifications which will be necessary when Pignerol and Luxemburgh are restored, and these will be very costly. The Spaniards are treated with great consideration, in the hope of obtaining, on the death of the King of Spain, a large portion of that kingdom for one of our princes.

The Duc de Bourgogne is ill, and fears are entertained for his chest. It has been remarked, for some time, that he has become hunchbacked. If anything should happen to him, the Court would soon be consoled for his loss; for he is of a very capricious temper, full of whims, deceitful, and outrageously proud.[1] The Duc d'Anjou, on the contrary, is mild and reasonable.[2] The Duchess of Savoy is excessively small, but perfectly formed; she is sly and designing.[3]

[1] The Duc de Bourgogne was naturally haughty and impetuous, but not deceitful: under the care of Fénelon, his tutor, he learnt to control his passions. His wit, courage, and piety deservedly endeared him to the Court and people of France. St. Simon gives an interesting account of the character of this Prince and of his death, which took place in 1712.

[2] Philip Duc d'Anjou, afterwards King of Spain.

[3] It was arranged by the Treaty of Turin that the Duc de Bourgogne should marry Marie Adelaide de Savoy; and this Princess arrived in Paris in November, 1696. The marriage was celebrated in December, 1697.

The Princess of Savoy was at this time 12 years old, and small for her age; but although so young she possessed extraordinary talents for intrigue. She died in 1712, a few days before her husband the Duc de Bourgogne.

It is believed that his Majesty will continue to King James the pension of 200,000 crowns.

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Oct. 17, twelve at night, 1697.

The business, God be thanked, is done; and this morning our ratification in form was changed by your Lordship's obedient servant with the French secretary, and is this afternoon sent to Loo; the ratification held to be good from Friday last, when the French received our ratification under the signet, which I withdrew when I gave my brother secretary that under the great seal. I will not now trouble your Lordship with the difficulties we met with, and messages which I have had to and fro, before we could get the thing done; but done it is, and to our credit as to "Rex Franciæ,"[1] which caused the whole trouble from Friday till this morning, and has made us master of all our records from Henry the Sixth to William the Third. Our Imperialists are coming in, and you will think it time, I believe. Your Lordship sees, by the inclosed, how gallantly we have got off after all in the business of the title.

[1] The French Ministers objected to the assumption of this title by the King of England in the Act of Ratification. The English plenipotentiaries, on the other hand, asserted that it was the style which had been generally adopted by his predecessors on similar occasions, and they cited, in particular, the Treaty of Breda in 1667. They engaged, however, to substitute another Act of Ratification, and to omit the obnoxious title, if it should be found on inquiry to be inconsistent with the precedents to which they had referred. On the 12th October the mediator drew up a protocol to this effect, and the matter was allowed to drop.

The Electress Sophia to Lord Lexington.

(Translation.) Herenhausen, Oct. $\frac{8}{18}$, 1697.

I assure you that I received, with much joy, the intelligence that Providence has given you a son, and that you have chosen me to be one of the sponsors. I hope that he will not be the less honest because he is half German and half English; for I am myself a mongrel of this description,[1] and he is the son of two persons of such merit, that I am proud of having been named by them to be his godmother. I regard this as a mark of your friendship, which I shall always desire to retain, by showing you with what truth I am

Your very affectionate friend,

(Signed) SOPHIA, ELECTRESS.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, Oct. 19, 1697.

The Bishop of Raab came hither two days ago from Poland, where I fear things do not go the best in the world for the Elector King. He is come to solicit money and aid of troops, besides revoking his own from Hungary, as I have formerly acquainted you; and the Emperor has resolved to send him both—four regiments of horse and dragoons, which are already marched upon the frontiers, and 300,000 florins, for which bills of exchange are given, so that the Emperor is entirely engaged in this quarrel. If they go vigorously to work this winter, and do not give the Prince of Conti leisure to debauch the King's party, or France time to succour him, all may go well; but if they keep their old slow

[1] In the original *puisque je suis mungrell mois-mesme de cette manière.*

formal pace, I do not know what may happen. Poor Prince! I pity him with all my heart, for he is in the hands of people that seek only to make a prey of him, without a friend, or a man of either honesty, honour, or experience about him; but when a man quits his religion for a little interest, what can he otherwise expect?

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Oct. $\frac{25}{15}$, 1697.

We should now draw towards a conclusion of the whole affair if it were not for the Palatinate, about which, as about everything in its turn, the French chicane extremely. Your confrères, my Lords Ambassadors and the Dutch, are kind of mediators in this affair, and the thing will be agreed because it must. I won't call our Ostrogoths any longer your Imperialists, for they neither have the downright honesty to act openly, nor wit enough to act with handsome hypocrisy; and, upon my word, we have more real concern for the Empire than they. As to the business of the Palatinate, he who should be master of it deserves nobody's pity; but this is no argument, since we do not work for him, but for a good country, of which we wish he had possession till the thing could be decided, and hinder (if possible) its being put into sequestre in the Pope's hands.[1] Two or three days may give us light into the decisions of this affair. The poor Spaniards would have ratified last night (their instrument being come), but collationing with the French, there were some words found different, but such as may be

[1] Louis XIV. now demanded that the Palatinate should be sequestered pending the investigation of the claims of the Duchess of Orleans.

adjusted and composed without any other danger, I think, than that of frightening Don Quiros out of his wits. My Lord Portland is here, going for England, on his way to France. Who would regret being an Ambassador when a Premier Minister is of the number? My Lord Manchester[1] is likewise here, on his way to Venice. I am always Mistress Davers's servant; she is the whetstone of my ambition, and if I would be great, it is only to be worthy her. I do not say a word of the beautiful secretary, for I believe she has more to do with her little gentleman at Vienna,[2] than we have with the old gentleman at Versailles. May the former live long and be happy, and the latter go off as soon as he pleases.

Mr. Blathwayt to Lord Lexington.

Loo, Oct. $\frac{19}{29}$, 1697.

We do not yet hear that the peace of Germany is signed; but we had great lamentations yesterday, by letter, from the Baron Goertz, that the French insisted upon having Rhinfels restored to the heirs of the Landgrave Ernst, that turned Papist, and was in treaty with the French for selling the place to them. The King ordered me to write very earnestly to our Ambassadors and to the Pensioner to divert this blow, which I take to be a very great one to the security of the Empire, but fear it is a second Strasburgh, and that more than the French are desirous of this change. His

[1] Charles Montague, Earl of Manchester, had recently been appointed Ambassador to the Republic. In 1699 he succeeded Lord Jersey as Ambassador to France, and in January, 1702, he was appointed Secretary of State.

[2] Lady Lexington and her infant son.

Majesty has besides, in the general, ordered serious remonstrances to be made to the French Ambassadors, that if they fall off from the preliminaries, and even their last declaration (which they have very haughtily done in many particulars), we shall be obliged to stand by our Allies; but what regard the French will have to these menaces, after the great numbers of troops we and the Dutch have disbanded and sent away, time will show, and that very soon. The King observes what your Lordship writes of young Count Harrach's sounding your Lordship about renewing our alliances, and particularly concerning the succession in Spain; and would have your Lordship, when the occasion offers, assure those Ministers of his readiness to renew these alliances as soon as he shall be informed of the terms and conditions, in both respects, which your Lordship has now orders to receive, and send a project of, to his Majesty, for his deliberation upon them.[1] As to the formal despatches for your Lordship's return, I expect only the first moment of the German peace being signed to send them immediately to your Lordship.

Mr. Prior to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Nov. 5, 1697.

I ought last post to have told you that the Imperialists and Catholic Princes of the Empire had signed the peace, if I had known anything more than that they had done so. This Mr. Swinford told Mr. Sutton, and all beyond it was such confusion that one knew not what to make of it; whilst their Excellencies,

[1] Upon reconsideration the Emperor thought it more politic to postpone any further discussion on this subject until he had obtained possession of the places which were to be restored to him by France.

by the King's order, were endeavouring to settle the business of the Palatinate upon a better foot than the French offered it,[1] Count Vehlen, that Elector's Minister here, had directions to tell them that their master and the King of France had agreed the business elsewhere, whilst the whole Empire were striving to have the peace of Westphalia established in points relating to religion, and would have an act from the Imperialists that they intended it should be so. Count Kaunitz says the Emperor has reason to resent the Protestants suspecting him in this affair; and the Imperialists, de bonnement, make their peace with so little concern to, and regard of, the ecclesiastical points, that the Protestants could not come in, and must be contented to take six weeks, which is till the ratification, to do it, or to be then reckoned enemies to France; the peace to be good to them from the day of the Imperialists and Catholics signing, provided they accept the terms within the time prescribed. This is all very hard, my Lord, to say no worse of it; and happy were they that got first out of the bustle, since it was impossible to have things better by continuing in it. In the mean time seven hundred churches in the Palatinate are likely to have mass said in them, as well after they shall be restored to the Elector Palatine as whilst they were under the dominion of the French; and the Protestants will sign because they must, but hardly

[1] The French Ministers now insisted on inserting in the Treaty a stipulation that the Roman Catholic religion should be the established religion in the territories restored by France. This stipulation was peculiarly unjust in the case of the Palatinate; but the Emperor, the Elector Palatine, and the other Roman Catholic Princes of the Empire "played booty with the French," to use the words of Mr. Blathwayt, and the Protestant Allies in vain protested against the injustice of the demand.

forget the proceedings which oblige them to it. These, my Lord, are our present circumstances. My Lord Jersey took leave of the States on Saturday: the King having given him, a little before, the character of Ambassador to them. My master Blathwayt has to-day sent me a letter to the Pensioner, by which I am likewise to go off. I know not who succeeds my Lord Jersey, but we say Sir Joseph Williamson is to stay here till all is over.

Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington.

Madrid, Nov. 8, 1697, N. S.

The honour of your Lordship's letter of the 18th of September, which came in Count Harrach's packet, he was pleased to send me by a footman, which is all the communication that has ever passed between us. It would be very happy if your Court would make the only real advantage of their late great victory in Hungary by making a good peace; to which probably the Porte would incline now that this Grand Seignor has spent his first fougue to so little purpose, and sees himself as unfortunate as his father and uncle were. The ratification of the peace with Spain arrived here yesterday, but is not yet published with solemnity. We are told that not only your Court will certainly come into it, but that a marriage is near concluded between the King of the Romans and the Duke of Orleans' daughter, which is much better liked here than that our King should have her, the report of which not long since put them in a terrible fright. The Prince of Hesse has been here about ten days, and their Majesties have plentifully showered their favours on him; he is made a Grandee of Spain de la premera classe, and

has the toson[1] given him. The Queen presented him with a jewel of diamonds, of 5000 doubloons, to wear on the King's birthday, and he has the assurance of the Virreynato of Catalonia very speedily, although that is not yet publicly declared. We had, the day before yesterday, being the Años del Rey, a fiesta de toros in the Plaça Mayor, in which happened many disasters. What is most regretted is, that one of the four toreadores, Don Juan de Velasco, had the calf of his leg and his thigh ripped up by a bull, and lies now agonizing; he was one of the ten in the famous desafio last winter, and newly made Governor of Buenos Ayres, whither he is never likely to go. I am very sorry to hear from England there is so little hope of the Duke of Shrewsbury's recovery to such a degree as to be able to exercise his post of Secretary of State; if he should think fit to lay it down, I know no person living who can fill it so well as your Lordship, who cannot fail of it, if you will please to accept it.

Mr. Blathwayt to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Nov. 8, 1697.

All the Protestant Princes of the Empire have not yet signed; but Count Auersperg has told me very frankly that they don't get half so many churches by this peace as we did by that of Munster.

Mr. Greg to Mr. ———.[2]

Copenhagen, Nov. 9, 1697.

The Prince Royal of Denmark was the more surprised at the Prince of Conti's making any difficulty

[1] Toison d'or.

[2] Probably to Mr. Blathwayt. A copy of this letter was forwarded to Lord Lexington by Mr. Greg.

about going to see him in his own apartments, because when his Royal Highness was in France upon his travels, he passed under the notion of a Count, as the Prince of Conti now does; so that if the Dauphin himself had been here *incognito* in like manner, the Prince Royal would have expected from him the same civility here that he had paid to him in France; and much more from the Prince de Conti, who is the last Prince of the blood in France, and very remote from the crown. As to the Queen, I know not whether there was any difficulty or not about the manner of his reception. However, so it was that the Queen expected he would have paid his respects to her immediately after he left the King, and had all things in readiness to receive him accordingly, and her maids of honour and gentlemen already passed in the ante-chamber, where she gives audience, when the news came that the Prince of Conti was gone directly home with the Ambassador[1] from the King's chamber. Notwithstanding all this, they had so much complaisance for the said Prince that they appointed an assembly at Court yesternight, on purpose: where the Queen, Prince, and Princesses played at cards, as well as the principal ladies belonging to this Court, at several tables and divided into several small companies, as the manner is. So the Prince of Conti was to have come in with the French Ambassador to this assembly, and there to have seen the Queen, Prince, and all the Princesses, as it were, occasionally, and to have played with the Queen, who had put on a great many extraordinary jewels upon this occasion. But when all things were ready again for the Prince of Conti's coming, there

[1] M. de Bonrepaux.

was an express sent that he was not well, which was worse taken than the first disappointment; and they are vexed at Court now that the King gave him any audience at all before he was assured that the Prince of Conti would do the same honour to the rest of the Royal Family as the Prince Royal of Denmark had done to the Royal Family of France.

There are some of his principal followers that usually sit at table with his Highness, as particularly the Count de Lauzun,[1] Chevalier d'Angoulême, and Abbé de Châteauneuf. The whole discourse of the Prince's followers plainly implies that he has entirely abandoned the crown of Poland, and has no further thoughts of looking after it, being desirous to appear glad to have missed it.

Nov. 13, 1697.

On Tuesday last, in the evening, the Prince de Conti set sail from hence with four frigates of M. de Bart's squadron. Yesterday morning, the wind coming very fair, he set sail from the Sound, and, if it continues, he may probably arrive at Dunkirk towards the beginning of next week.

One circumstance I omitted in my last was, that the Prince de Conti offered to have made a visit to the Prince Royal in his apartments, but then he expected to have the right hand there, which the Prince Royal would not consent to. Finding that the ceremonial could not be adjusted to his (the said Prince de Conti's) mind for his seeing of the Queen and Prince in their own apartments, it was proposed, as I mentioned in my

[1] Mr. Greg does not give M. de Lauzun the full honours to which he was entitled. This successful adventurer, whom Bussy Rabutin describes as one of the least men in mind as well as body that God ever made, was created a Duke in 1692.

last, that he should see them, as it were, occasionally in an assembly; but when he was just ready to come, having understood that he would be received there as an unknown person, and that the Queen, Prince, and Princesses, not having received a visit from him, could not take notice of him otherwise, nor rise up from their play at his coming in, he sent an excuse that he was not well, and therefore could not come, though he supped in public at the Ambassador's that same evening an hour or two after he sent the excuse.

All the while that M. de Bart has been out he has received his orders immediately from France; so that he had no directions to follow the Prince de Conti's orders, but rather the Prince was always obliged to comply with his.

M. de Bonrepaux is to leave this Court very shortly, being to reside in Holland, in the same quality of Ambassador.

None of the foreign Ministers here, except M. Moreau[1] only, have seen the Prince of Conti—no, not the Swedish Envoy.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, Nov. 20, 1697.

Mr. Martini, whom you writ to me about some time ago, was yesterday with me; he seems a very ingenuous man. He is come, as far as I can find, with a commission from the Marques de Leganez to endeavour to put him well with the Emperor, and to offer his service and endeavours with his friends and relations

[1] M. Moreau was the Polish Minister at Copenhagen. He was devoted to the interest of the Prince de Conti, but the new King of Poland had not as yet recalled him.

in Spain for the succession when it happens.[1] I had a great deal of discourse with him; he seems to be well informed of the affairs of Italy, and tells me he is positively assured that the Duke of Savoy is taking measures for getting the Duchy of Milan when the occasion happens,[2] and now at this time for the Montserrat; and I am apt to believe it, for t'other day the Ambassador of Savoy let fall something accidentally in his discourse to me, that gives me occasion to suspect they are working for it.

Mr. Blathwayt to Lord Lexington.

Hague, Nov. $\frac{11}{21}$, 1697.

The French continue very firm to the article of religion, and will not admit of any expedient or explanation proposed by the Protestants, wherein the Imperialists play booty, and show clearly their conjunction with the French in these matters; so that the Protestants have nothing more in their view than to be able to keep themselves from being imposed on in the same manner upon other occasions. This disposition of the Imperial Court will make your Lordship, I believe, very desirous to leave Vienna if the weather permit.

Mr. Vernon[3] *to Lord Lexington.*

Whitehall, Dec. 7, 1697.

I believe you have very few of the Irish in those parts who have served in the French King's army

[1] In 1705 the Marques de Leganez was seized by King Philip and sent prisoner to Navarre for exciting disaffection among the grandees.

[2] It will be remembered that, by a secret article in the Treaty of Turin, Louis XIV. promised to aid the Duke in obtaining possession of the Milanese in the event of the King of Spain dying without issue.

[3] On the 2nd of December Sir William Trumbull resigned the

during the war; but I must not omit signifying his Majesty's pleasure that no passes should be given by your Lordship to any such, since, by a late Act passed in Ireland, they are to suffer as traitors if they return thither. I send your Lordship the address the Commons have voted this day. There is a fair prospect they will make all their assurances good, though the question for a supply preferably to the consideration of the King's speech was carried by three.[1]

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Vienna, Dec. 18, 1697.

I am in such a hurry that I have but time to tell you I set out to-morrow,[2] and for that little business there is, my cousin Sutton will acquaint you with it at large next post. Since my last to you, I have been like to take a journey into t'other world by a fit of the

seals. Lord Wharton had long aspired to the office of Secretary of State, and his claims were strongly urged on the King by the Whig party, of which this nobleman was an active and a leading member.

William, however, feared the violence of his temper, and the Republican tendency of his political principles; and Lord Sunderland was no less averse to the promotion of one whom he rightly regarded as a dangerous and implacable foe.

But neither the King nor Lord Sunderland ventured entirely to break with Lord Wharton; they held out therefore to him the hope that he might shortly obtain the object of his ambition, and, in the meanwhile, the seals were delivered to Mr. Vernon, whose humble position naturally led to the inference that his appointment to so important an office was merely a temporary arrangement.

This, however, was not the intention of the King, or of his adviser Lord Sunderland; and Mr. Vernon retained the seals during the remainder of the reign.

He was dismissed by Queen Anne in May, 1702.

[1] This address was highly complimentary to the King, but it was immediately followed by a vote which was most distasteful to his Majesty. On the 13th of December the House of Commons passed a resolution that "all the land forces of the kingdom, which had been raised since the 29th of September, 1680, should be paid and disbanded."

[2] To return to England.

stone; but, thank God, 'tis over, at least for this bout. The Queen of Poland, the Emperor's sister, and mother to the Duke of Lorraine, died yesterday of apoplexy.

Mr. Ellis to Lord Lexington.

Whitehall, Jan. 11, $169\frac{7}{8}$.

I have the honour of your Excellency's of 29th past, from Leipsic, humbly to acknowledge. Your Lordship did not then know of the revolution here, by Sir William's surrendering the seals to the King, which he did 2 past, and his Majesty's giving them to Mr. Secretary Vernon, as he was pleased to do the next day; neither does your Excellence know that a fire, which happened here this day sennight about four in the afternoon, has left nothing but the name of Whitehall, all the old buildings and the new, except the Banqueting-house, being down, besides the low buildings that face the Horse Guards. His Majesty has ordered that the yacht that carries over Mr. Stepney, who is going Envoy Extraordinary to some princes in Germany, shall attend your Lordship's arrival at Rotterdam.

Lord Lexington to Mr. Blathwayt.

Amsterdam, Jan. 28, 1698.

Thank God, I am at last got hither, and free from all the plagues of Westphalia inns and Dutch foremen, and hope in a little while to have the honour of embracing you. I have been at Zell, as I told you in my last, where it was impossible to be more kindly received; and the good old gentleman[1] expects the King this

[1] The Duke of Zell.

autumn, and has reserved two or three dozen of the best Champagne wine that ever was tasted, and of five years old—a bottle of which he gave me for a taste, that I might tell his Majesty how good it was. The Duchess was pleased to make my wife a present of a ring, and of such value that I could not let her take it but with the condition of his Majesty's approbation.

APPENDIX.

Extracts from "The Journal of what passed in the time of Mr. Hop's abode at the Imperial Court at Vienna, as Envoy-Extraordinary from the High and Mighty States of Holland; from the 4th November, 1688, to the 19th July, 1689."

4th Nov.—The Marquis de Lusignan, Envoy from France at Vienna, was, by a note from Count Coningseg, Vice-Chancelour of the Empire, in name of the Emperour, acquainted, that his Imperial Majesty, considering the late designs of the French againest him, did not think fitt to permitt him to stay longer at his Court in the quality of Envoy.

The foresayed Marquise received the note au pied de la lettre, and remained nevertheless in the city.

The order for his removeall (to the end that they might have a guarand, in case the great Master of the Teutonick Order should fall into the hands of the French in the Palatinate) was delayed till France were declared at Regensburgh ennemy to the Empire, when all French Ministers are then to be sent away.

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7th Nov.—The Elector of Brandenburgh and Duke of Hannover send instructions to their Ministers resideing here, to endeavour the takeing away of any umbrages that this Court may have of the Conference held at Magdeburgh betwixt the Protestant Princes. Baron Görtz writes the same thing to Count Staremburgh in name of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

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The Emperour received today the Prince of Orange's letter, with ane account of his intended voyage into England.

The same is very acceptably received, 1stly, because of the confidence which his Highness is pleased to repose in his Imperial Majesty in communicateing to him this his project: 2ndly, for the great moderation with which his Highness expresses himself, as well in regard of the King of England as the excercise of the Roman Catholick worship in that kingdome.

11th Nov.—The mentioned letter came the more timely, while the Emperour (as Mr. Hop is, in great trust and secrecy, informed by the Ambassadour of Spain) hade, a few dayes before, asked the foresayed Ambassador what he thought fitt for him to doe, in case they should attempt to dethrone the K. of England, and abolish there the Roman Catholick Religion. His Excellence excused himself, not dareing to give his judge-

ment in such a weighty affaire, beyond, or without, the order of the King his Master: nevertheless, by way of discourse, he proceeded to saye that the kingdome of England was by no meanes subject; therefor whatever the Nation, represented by the two Houses of Parliament, should doe, must be held for good.

As to the Roman Catholick Religion, he did not believe that it would be more hardly dealt with than was requisite for the State, wherein, as he himself hade found, it was not so severely dealt with as is commonly pretended. By this was the zeale of some Catholicks at this Court remarkeably moved. These, being pushed on by the clergy, endeavoured by all meanes to render the foresayed expedition to England suspected. But now the affection which this Court hath hade for that of England is quite lost, since they see with what earnestness England, meerly to pleasure France, hath interested itself in the business of Cardinal Furstemberg, wherein that Crowne is no way concerned, and that the Earl of Carlingford, English Envoy at this Court, doth live in such an intimate and familiar correspondence with the French Ministers, and that, with ane extraordinary heat, he hath pushed the French interests here.

Count Coningseg told Mr. Hop that the Emperour, being so unprovidedly assaulted by France, could not, by reasone of his troupes acting at so great a distance againest the Turks, possibly make any active resistance againest France, considering how much his troupes have suffered this compagne, and by the distance of the places, viz. Belgrade, Bosnia, and Transylvania, the nearest of which is not less than 80 or 90 Germane miles distant from here, where at present they are. Wherefor it is necessary that 9 Regiments goe to Winter quarters, where, being sufficiently refreshed and recruited, then, in the beginning of the yeare, they may be employed, and not sooner. That, in the meane time, his Imperial Majesty could help his allies no other wayes but with his good councel.

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14*th Nov.*—All the Chief Ministers of this Court doe, in the Emperor's name, sufficiently attest his, and their owne, satisfaction with the resolution of the States, dated the 28th October,[1] concerneing the reasones that moved them to assist his Highness, now goeing over to England, with ships and forces. Mr. Hop hath caused translate the mentioned resolution, and delivered it to the Emperour.

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The Prince's expedition is looked upon as a meane to bring England to a better correspondence, as likewise the forces of that Crown to be imployed againest France; and that by sea, from whence the very heart of the French power may be reached, and so consequently at the same time may be procured such a considerable diversion to the progress of the French armes in the Empire as that it may be sufficiently unburthened of them. The Emperor's answer to the Prince's mentioned letter is sent with this daye's post.[2]

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[1] See No. 1, p. 353. [2] See No. 2, p. 354.

21*st Nov.*—Count Stratman acquainted Mr. Hop, by the Emperour's express order, that when Baron Görtz lately arrived here, with power from the States to renew the preceding Allyance betwixt his Imperial Majesty and the States, that in the negotiation of the sayed renewall, formal promises were made that so soone as his Imperial Majesty were disposed thereto, a good deale of the promised, but as yet not payed, subsidye should be payed him. That thereupon the Emperour, having made the sayed Renewall, and that with so great privacy, that, except himself and the Count Stratman, nobody hade the least notice of it, insomuch that the Act of Renewall was passed without the knowledge of his Chancery, His Majesty therefor, upon this account as well as by reasone of his being intangled in a double warr, wisheth that the foresayed promises concerning the unpayed subsidies should, upon all adventure, be fulfilled, at least that so much as without all dispute is as yet oweing, may be payed. His Majesty thinketh fitt to make this his request knowen to the Prince by Mr. Hop, and not by Mr. Crampvich at the Hague, by reasone that the last knoweth nothing of the foresayed renewment, or any thing that passed therein.

There being a report current among foreign Ministers, that the Emperour is, by letter on behalf of the King of England, intreated to mediate in takeing away the differences that are arisen twixt his Majesty and the Prince of Orange, since, by doeing of this, his Majesty may be in a condition more vigorously to guarand the made, and now broken, truce; withall, methods might hereby be found out of takeing away the animosityes that are between his Imperial Majesty and France, to do which there remaineth no way but the proposeing of ane equivalent whereby the dammage which the Emperour hath suffered may be repaired; upon this Mr. Hop declared his mind herein to Count Stratman. His Excellency assured him, upon his word and honour, that the King of England hade written nothing at all to the Emperour of that that is reported. It was, 'tis true, indirectly tryed whether or not his Imperial Majesty would trouble himself with the foresayed differences. That Mr. Ronquillo from England, Mr. Crampvich from the Hague, together with the Pope's nuntio, Cardinal Bonvisi, endeavoured to persuade the Emperor thereto. That his Majesty hade reflected thereupon, but never resolved to let any devoirs be made, by reasone that he could not imagine that they would be acceptable; at least the Emperour's intention that way made knowen to Baron Görtz, who, while he was here, hade made some obscure overtures of the Prince his expedition to England, never received any answer. That his Majesty made knowen to the foresaid Baron Görtz what at that time was, and still is, his opinion, to wit, that the penal statutes made againest Roman Catholicks needed not be put in execution, but that, at the same time, due care should be taken for maintaining of the settled and predominant religion, as well as the preservation of the fundamental lawes of the realme, and that endeavours should be used to bring the King to a sounder mind in publick affairs than as yet he hath hade.

25*th Nov.*—That the above mentioned letter was written by the King

of England to the Dutchess of Hanover, from whence it was, sent hither. Among the contents of it was what followeth:—"Qu'il n'avoit jamais été capable d'un imposture aussy execrable que celle de la supposition d'un Prince de Galles; qu'il étoit vraye; qu'il étoit depourveu, parce qu'il ne s'étoit point attendu que ceux que le touchoient de si pres, entreprendroient quelque chose contre luy, mais si le vent continuoit quelque temps contraire, on le trouveroit à la tête de bonnes trouppes." The Spanish ambassadour confirmed what is above mentioned, to wit, that Ronquillo and Crampvich hade used their devoirs to make the house of Austria interest itself in the English affaires. That he himself hade orders from Spain to concert with this court thereupon; but that it was unanimously judged unadviseable to trouble themselves with them, by reasone that this expedition to England was looked upon not onely as sufficient, but likewise as the only meane of quickly extricateing Europe. Count Stratman assured Mr. Hop that the Emperour inwardly, and now also spareth not to avow the same openly, would not be dissatisfyed to see the affaires of England upon aneother footing; and that discourses upon that subject would not be disagreable. Withall he added, that it was nothing extraordinary to see people, that were concerned enough in ane affaire, hindered by particular reasones from interesting themselves openly therein.

There hath been likewise, some dayes agone, a report, grounded, as the ministers say, upon Mr. Crampvich his relation, that the Prince's returne was not so much occasioned by the storm his fleet met with, as by reasone that affaires in England were like to be accomodated, for which cause his Highness was intreated to delay his voyage. This report, notwithstanding that its falshood did very quickly appeare, was not very ill relished here: perhaps by reasone that it was imagined that the King, being by the above mentioned accomodation brought to a sounder minde, the state's interest would be therewith satisfyed, which is the onely thing that moveth people here to wish or hope for ane alteration in English affaires, and thus the Roman Catholick religion should run the lesser risque; whereas, upon the Prince's arriveall in England, the mob may, perhaps, fall upon the Roman Catholicks, as upon monsters; and that this might have greater impression upon the Roman Catholick zealots, as if, forsooth, they were not already incensed enough, the English Ministers endeavour to represent unto them what the people of London and Edinburgh at such a time, as is hoped for at the Prince's landing, may attempt upon the two Romish chappels that are there erected. Moreover the Spanish Ambassadour sayeth that some disturbances are raised by what Mr. Crampvich reporteth the Prince to have sayed, viz., that he knew not how matters might goe in case the King made any vigorous resistance, which, as is generally supposed, will come to passe, though it will hardly have force enough to hinder the Prince his laudable and heartily wished-for enterprise, quidquid fit.

28*th Nov.*—It is evident that the business of religion in England doeth mightily disturb people here, but the interest of state maketh them often wish for good successe to his expedition; and his Highness's opinion that Roman

Catholicks should not be persecuted for their religion is mightily praised, openly, because they say that no man's conscience ought to be forced; but whether their heart and tongue agree is thence to be learned, that, accordeing to Count Aspremont's relation, which was made by the by in aneother discourse, eight dayes agone, the Protestants and Lutherans in Offen were, by open proclamation, commanded to quite the town. The E. of Carlingford, Extraordinary Envoy from England, brags of the good posture that the King his master is in, but the generàl persuasion to the contrary causeth the same to find small credit.

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The Prince his declaration, brought here by the last post, was reade to the Emperour. The reflections made by the Emperour upon the same, which he communicated to Count Stratman and the Ambassadour, doe chiefly concerne the birth of the pretended Pr. of Wales, and consist mostly in the three following points:—

1stly. This declaration agreeth not with what his Highness wrote to his Imperial Majesty in the abovementioned missive, wherein his Highness pretends that his intention was not to attempt any thing in prejudice to the *legal succession* of the Crown, whereas in this declaration the Pr. of Wales's right of succession is disputed.

2ndly. That such a dispute is a dangerous precedent.

3rdly. That the putting by the Prince of Wales might bring along with it the total destruction of the Roman Catholick religion in England.

Hereupon Mr. Hop answered, that there could no difference be found twixt the Prince's letter and declaration, unless it were supposed that his Highness was persuaded that the pretended Pr. of Wales is the sone of the present Queen of England, and thus, by the foresayed expression, *legal succession*, his Highness should have meant the Pr. of Wales: but the mentioned generall expression will not beare this particular illation, since that as soone as the birth of the pretended Pr. of Wales was made knowen to the world, so soone were the circumstances likewise divulged that fully persuaded most of the subjects of the three kingdomes, and consequently his Highness likewise, that the sayed Prince of Wales was not brought to the world by the Queen of England. That ane account of the same was brought here before ever the Prince's foresayed letter arrived, and so, consequently, it could by no meanes be thought that his Highness, in the foresayed letter, should have avowed, or so much as thought of avoweing the legality of the mentioned Prince of Wales, or his right of succession to the Crown, but that the foresayed letter referred rather to the Princess her incontestable right of succession, or rather the decision that should be made by a free and legally called Parliament.

That the consequence of ane example of makeing a supposititious successor, who really was such, is more to be feared than that of maintaining the incontestable right of succession appertaineing to her Royal Highness, which by the pretended birth of a Prince of Wales shee is like to be robbed of. That his Highness, in a matter of such consequence, intended not to

take right at his owne hand, but, in respect that it is the most tender concerne that can be in the world, he is to proceed therein with all the consideration that can be observed in the very smallest civil affaire, that is, he 'l appeale from himself to the decision of a lawfully called Parliament, which is the onely competent judge to give sentence in such a business: that the same is not onely confirmed by reasones deduced from the nature of royall power, and of the constitution of the Parliament, but likewise with examples of what hath been formerly practised in England, as, namely, that of their makeing ordinances concerning the succession, as was done in the first yeare of Edward the Sixth's reign, and at several other times. Likewise, when formerly it was disputed whether ane elder sone, borne without the kingdome, were preferable to a younger, borne within the same, the Parliament decided in favour of the eldest sone.

As to the consequence of religion, that is no way valid, since his Highness hade publickly declared to the Emperour that no man's conscience should be forced: that this is as little like to fall out by his Highnesse's conduct in England, as it doeth in Holland.

Count Stratman put the question to Mr. Hop, whether this declaration of the Prince's againest the Prince of Wales agreed with his promises made to the Emperour in the abovementioned letter: when, in answer thereto, Mr. Hop hade deduced what is just now related, he replyed that the same must be held for the sone, quem nuptiæ emonstrant; and that this is præsumptio juris, et de jure, that should admit no contrary proof.

Mr. Hop answered hereupon, that the rule here, when, the persone of the mother being incontrovertably avowed, it is debated whether the mother's husband, or aneother, is father of the child brought forth, in which case the husband is always presumed to be the father; yet not so absolutely but that, on certain occasions, proofes to the contrary may be admitted. But in the present case, the rule alledged by his Excellency can no way have place, since here the debate is concerning the mother of the pretended P. of Wales. His Excellency gave no answer to this; but not being as yet satisfyed, Mr. Hop hath consented to discourse more fully with him on this subject.

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5th Dec.—Mr. Hop, discoursing anew with Count Stratman on the subject of his Highnesse's expedition, represented to him the necessity under which the Prince lay, by the request of a great number of the clergy and gentry of England, who intreated him to labour to redress their infringed lawes, to maintaine and support the Protestant religion, without forceing the consciences of such as dissented therefrom; that her Royal Highness's incontestable right of succession to the Crown, together with the weighty reasones of suspecting the lawfullness of the pretended P. of Wales's birth, required at least of him that he should see the concerns thereof decided in a lawfull Parliament, and that, in such material and essentiall business, no greater moderation could be thought upon. Count Stratman, without giving Mr. Hop a word of answer, showed himself not a little dissatisfied. How-

ever, Mr. Hop urged him the more, begging that he would be pleased ingenuously to declare his minde on this subject. At last his Excellence sayed, that the Emperour looked upon the Prince's expedition in general as very laudable and feasable, since the Prince's accustomed cautiousness and foresight assured him that the measures in hand would certainely succeed. As to the concerns of religion that may be interwoven with them, it could not be taken ill that this Court take the part of that religion which is here professed; that, in his opinion, to exclude people of parts and good families from all imployes and benefices, merely on the account of their difference in religion, was a little hard: more he would not add, nor say any thing concerning the legality of the P. of Wales. The Prince of Salms, who, as one of the Emperour's privy counsellers and Count Stratman's confident, is certainely throughly versed in the affaires of this Court, runneth likewise on the score of religion, but more at large and more freely than Count Stratman. He sayeth it is his opinion that, on the one hand, the K. of England, by instigation of the Jesuites and French, hath taken very bad and discommendable measures, such as the Pope himself and most part of Roman Catholicks dissapprove; but, on the other hand, he thought that the rigidity of the penal statutes might well be mitigated, that it looked a little strange that a Roman Catholick prince should not be permitted to take into his service or advance to benefices people of his owne religion. Mr. Hop, haveing made a deduction of the origine of these penal statutes againest Roman Catholics, and what bad glosses were made upon the P. of Orange's project of bringing about the peace of the kingdome of England and concord among the subjects of all persuasions, to which end his Highness hath declared that he'l let no man be persecuted for conscience sake, and that Roman Catholicks shall be dealt with in England as they are dealt with in Holland: To this the Prince of Salms replyed that the R. Catholicks, in most of the United Provinces, excepting Holland and Utrecht, were rigidly enough treated; withall he added that in regard of that point of difference wayes of *alleviation* might be fallen upon, and, if affaires in England come not quickly to a close, it would be necessary for such a considerable persone as the Emperour to send and see whether or not the King and Prince by his mediation could be reconciled.

As to the Pr. of Wales, the mentioned Pr. of Salms pretended that as yet he had not seen the depositions made in proof of the lawfullness of that supposititious Prince: yet he sayed that, in all likelihood, it could not be presumed that the King would be brought so fâr as to consent to the stealeing in of a supposititious Prince, which would be a most abominable action even in the eyes of Catholicks and in regard of the Roman Catholick religion, since God would never permitt the propagation of the same by such ane illegal way, and altho', as is sayed, the Queen Dowager be at the head of the forty witnesses that attest the lawfullness of that Prince, yet some remarks are notwithstanding to be made upon the sayed attestations, particularly it was to be considered that all the witnesses were Roman Catholicks. Upon this Mr. Hope sayed, that his Highness haveing received

such good and sure information of the supposititiousness of that Prince, the least and most moderate thing he could doe was to referr himself to the decision of the Parliament. His Grace asked hereupón, whether the subjects then could judge their King, and if this was ever practised in England? Mr. Hop haveing, in answer, adduced the reasones and examples above mentioned, his Grace sayed that, for what he could see, there remained noe way of makeing ane end of the business but by the Parliament decision. The true reasone that moveth people here to be dissatisfyed with the dispute about the lawfullness of the pretended P. of Wales is not their being convinced of his lawfullness, of which was not the least account before the arriveal of the last post, but merely their zeale for religion, that seemeth now to be in despair; for if the pretended P. of Wales be putt by the crown, the Roman Catholick religion cannot be conserved in England. Now, people of best note at this Court, and even the Emperour's Privy Counsellers, at their first moveing in English affaires, as they are at present, made account upon a Catholick succession to the throne upon the decease of the present King; and thus the Roman Catholick religion would still continue to subsist in England. By this meanes they hoped to have reconciled the maximes of state that forced them to wish for a change in English affaires with their zeale for the Roman Catholick religion; for tho' perhaps by the wished-for change the provideing for and supporting of the reformed religion would certainly follow, and thus the growth and light of the Roman Catholick religion might be for a time choaked and darkned, yet in the meane time the publick, and in particular their owne state, reaped advantage thereby; and there remained still hopes that hereafter, by a Catholick's succeeding to the crown, the Roman Catholick religion would of a new get up its head and revive again; and this is the reasone that lately people wished for ane accomodation of English affaires without his Highness's voyage thither.

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Mr. Hop applyeth himself in all convenient places, with all possible exactness, to explain the true reasones and motives of his Highnesse's voyage to England, as of the States assisting him on this occasion: herein he useth chiefly the reasones contained in the above-mentioned resolution of the States, dated the 28th October, and his Highness's declaration.

By this occasion Mr. Hop was advertised, by a most sure and authentick hand, that many and powerfull endeavours were made to bring the Emperour to a good understanding and strait confederacy with France and England: and the motive they chiefly made use of herein is the interest of the Roman Catholick Religion.

12th December.—At the same time all endeavours were used for moveing the Pope to use his utmost interest for effectuating the sayed design at this Court; and it was immediately given out that if the Houses of Austria, Bourbon, and Stewart were united, they could easily govern all Europe. Nevertheless the Emperour, notwithstanding that he alwayes passed for a Prince very zealous for the Roman Catholick Religion, considering that it is

his interest to oppose the groweing power of France, and judgeing that this desired confederacy, under pretext of the interest of religion, would in reality tend to the extending and inlargeing of the French power, altogether declined it.

Count Stratman, with relation to the Emperour's judgement, declared that the arguments and reasones dispersed by the French for makeing people looke upon the Prince's expedition as the beginning of a religious warr are looked upon at this Court as being designed to breed a distrust and diffidence among the Allyes, and so at last to separate them from one another.

That his Imperial Majesty is inclined to continue the close correspondence he kept with the States, with whom from time to time he would concert the publick good, and its concerns and necessityes.

The general hopes and wishes of this Court are, that by the Prince's expedition England may be engaged to make warr with France. They commend the Prince for designeing to get a lawfull Parliament called for restoreing and redressing abuses and violated lawes.

As to religion, they wish that the Roman Catholicks in England that are of best note and quality, especially such as are not of the French party, may not be excluded from all publick offices: but, however it may be, the Prince's declaration not to persecute Catholicks is very well liked; neither doe they intend to trouble themselves farther about this matter.

Hereto agreeth the Emperour's answer given to Jesuit Mubert, father confessor to the Empress, who a few dayes agoe endeavoured to engage the Emperour in support of the Roman Catholick Religion in England; to which the Emperour replyed, "France hath been for a long time the comfort of England, and therefor now they may seek, if they want, help from that crown." Some ministers at Court proposeing to Mr. Hop (Count Stratman haveing but last night pressed the same thing) whether the Emperour could not find out a way to accomodate the differences betwixt the King and P. of Orange, imployeing for that end either the Spanish Ambassadour at London, or rather by despatching somebody on purpose from hence; this allwayes being pre-supposed—that England must be brought to a sounder minde as to the publick and common interest, the lawes likewise of the realme, the libertyes of subjects and parliaments, together with the Church of England, must be maintained and defended: To this Mr. Hop answered, that for want of instructions he could not say any thing upon that proposition; but he thought that it was to be considered that the foresayed differences twixt the King and Prince were, for the most part, domestick, and he hop'd they might be determined before any such negotiation could be from hence sent and proposed there. These his hopes were partly grounded on letters from Mr. Citters, dated 16 and 19 of last moneth. At the instance of the Ambassadour of Spain and Mr. Hop, the Marquis de Lusignan, by a letter from the Prince of Shwartzenberg, as Court Mareshal, was commanded, in the Emperour's name, to be gone from Vienna in the space of four dayes, and then to depart out of the empire by the road that should be assigned him. The like orders, sayeth Count Stratman, are sent

to Regensburg for dispatching away of M. Crecy, the French Plenipotentiary, who resideth there. By this it appeareth that the imprisonment of the foresayed two French Ministers, upon which the Emperour some few dayes agone was in deliberation with one or two of his most intimate and trusty ministers, is come to nothing, as well as that of secureing their papers, both which were occasioned by their dareing (especially he at Regensburg) in their discourses every where to attaint the Emperour's honour and fame; but it is sayed the Emperour rejected both the foresayed propositions as inconsistent with the law of nations. The Marquis de Lusignan, in answer to the P. of Shwartzenberg's mentioned letter, declared his willingness and disposition to obey the Emperour's orders, nevertheless intreated that he might be permitted to stay here till the end of this moneth; but this was not granted; yet his Majesty consented to allow him the space of eight dayes, reckoning from the date of the former denunciation.

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14*th December.*—Severall foreign ministers have advice from Paris that France desired to make ane accomodation with the Emperour and Empire, wherein he would have imployed the Pope and Republick of Venice.

16*th Dec.*—Mr. Hop, together with the Spanish Ambassadour, doe their endeavour to know the truth of this. Count Stratman declared to them both, and that by the Emperour's order, that ane accomodation with France was not as yet mentioned either in name of the Pope or the Republick of Venice; but that the Elector of Bavaria was sollicited by France to interpose himself betwixt the Emperour and that King. Of this, the Elector, before he would give answer, acquainted the Emperour, who thereupon returned in writeing thanks to his Electoral Highness, and applauded his delayeing to imploy himself in such a mediation, and represented to him the exorbitant invasions which France hade made in the Empire, notwithstanding the made up truce and severall confirmations of the sincerity thereof that hade been given since; upon which account his Imperial Majesty judged that such ane interposition was now out of time.

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Cardinal Bonvisi hath received orders from the Pope to receive the Emperour's sentiment about what Cardinal d'Etrées hade represented to his Holiness of the interest of the Roman Catholick religion's depending upon the affaires of England and Germany; in consideration of which he hade intreated his Holiness to be pleased to concern himself in the reconciliation of the Emperour with France.

Count Stratman, in presence of the Spanish Ambassadour, communicated this to Mr. Hop; and withall added, in very serious termes, that people hade very good reasone to be dissatisfyed with the Allyes. 1stly, Because the expedition to England was never communicated till the moment it was put into execution; 2dly, because the Emperour was not advised of the conference held at Magdeburgh among German Princes, of whom he is nevertheless the chief; 3dly, that neither the States' troopes, nor any of their allyes, hade as yet drawen their sword againest France, notwithstanding

of severall advantages that they might have hade of the French: here likewise is to be taken in Prince Waldeck's takeing so little care of Coblentz. His Excellence added further, that the expedition to England was either to be considered as a business of state or of religion: if the first, then the Emperour hade reasone to complain of non-communication; if the second, then his Majesty hade reasone to deliberate whether or not it were his duty to oppose it. That Mr. Hop, who was so well acquainted with and concerned in publick business, could not escape meeting with much agitation concerning this conduct from the principall ministers of this Court; so that what was sayed could not be unknowen to him, more than many more circumstances that clearely enough demonstrated how little regard the Allyes, even in their particular discourses (there he means the Elector of Saxony), hade for the Emperour.

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Mr. Hop, haveing occasion with Count Stratman to discuss the reasones of dissatisfaction above mentioned, found it not difficult to persuade the Count that the Emperour's non-participation of the Magdeburgh Conference was not to be imputed to the States, who (their presence not being required) were not at all there: further, the States of Holland, for preserving the city of Cullen, partly sent in forces to them, and partly, for the same end, kept a considerable number of troopes under Waldeck's command in its neighbourhood, and this was not so much, or at least not more than they were required by Mr. Crampvich in the Emperour's name to doe.

17*th Dec.*—In the same manner Mr. Hop hath endeavoured, with all imaginable arguments, to defend the confidence which the Prince hath showen he reposed in the Emperour in regard of the English expedition, and how sincerely he hath dealt with his Majesty herein; and now, since his Majesty hath been pleased to make knowen the satisfaction he hath got as to the matter of communication, Mr. Hop thinketh that other people ought not to be dissatisfyed with it.

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The Pope's Nuntius hath hade audience of the Emperour upon the subject mentioned (page 17 [1]).

His Majesty hath given him for answer, that the French King, and not he, hath begun this present warr; that there could be not the least credit given to that King's word, which appeared not onely by the violation of the truce, but likewise by all the accordes he hath made since the rupture, with the cityes conquered in the Empire, particularly that made with Heydlebergh; that France, proposeing this accomodation, doeth not so much as mention reparation, or any conditions of a reasonable satisfaction; that these propositions were made to be looked upon as ane artifice to bring the Emperour and his allyes to a mutual diffidence, and thus at last to separate them, and therefor he would not in the least give eare thereto, but must of a necessity decline the foresayed propositions of ane accomodation.

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23*rd Dec.*—The French Envoye haveing obtained the space of 3 weekes,

[1] Of the original Journal. The passage referred to will be found in p. 336.—EDITOR.

reckoning this the first day, to depart the Empire, is gone this day from Vienna.

The Pope declareth that he can give no more subsidyes againest the Turc, and that because of his present feares for France.

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6th Jan.—Mr. Hop is advertised by a certain authentick hand, and withall desired to write to the P. of Orange, that his Highness *should take care of his life*, and thereupon he was abruptly tooke leave of by the foresayed person. This sentence was judged by Mr. Hop to be of greater importance than to be passed over without narrower scrutiny, wherefor, with reiterated instances, he pressed and begged earnestly for a more particular explication of the foresayed generall sentence; yet all that he can bring out is, that this Court hath most certain accounts that the Prince's expedition to England is looked upon by the French Court, not as a warr, but as a particular quarrel between the father and sone-in-law; for this cause they were resolved to make use of meanes againest his Highness that are not commonly permitted in warr, and this that is sayed is made knowen by reasone that people are as yet accustomed to discharge their consciences.

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13th Jan.—The Earl of Carlingford presented a memorial, conceived in very sharp termes, wherein he intreats his Majesty to looke upon the P. of Orange's expedition to England as a religious warr, and that he would be pleased openly to back his master's interest. His Lordship received for answer, that the Emperour could not ingage himself in his master's business, since he kept so close a correspondence with France that was declared enemy to the Emperour and Empire.

19th Feb.—Mr. Hop received in a letter from Monsr. Dyckvelt, dated 26th Jan.,[1] a letter from the Prince to the Emperour, with further orders, in his Highness's name, to endeavour to persuade the Emperour and his ministers that by his expedition to England he desired not in the least the persecution of Roman Catholicks. Hereupon he endeavoured to have ane opportunity to-day of presenting to the Emperour the foresayed letter, and to intertain his Majesty upon the matter conformable to his Highness's intention: but he being gone to the Jesuites' Colledge, where he's to be at his devotion fore and after noone, and at night to see a comedy, acted by the students of that Colledge, audience could not be obtained till to-morrow.

20th Feb.—Mr. Hop, in a letter to the Prince, assureth his Highness that it would be no great difficulty to get his Highness's design and intention brought about here, since the Emperour and his most trusty ministers have, a good time agoe, made it appeare pretty evidently that they are not susceptible of the bad impressions which the clergy, the partisans of the French, and Furstemberg party, together with the King of England's envoye, have endeavoured to make of his Highness's expedition as being a religious warr, neither are they able to cause the violence used by the comonalty of England againest Roman Catholicks to be interpreted to his

[1] See No. 3, p. 355.

Highness's disadvantage; and to make the same more clearely appeare, Mr. Hop taketh the liberty to acquaint his Highness with the following points:—

1stly. That his Highness's letter, sent before his voyage to England to the Emperour, hade given his Imperial Majesty full satisfaction in that matter; that people, relying upon the promise made in the sayed letter, to wit, that his Highness would cause the Roman Catholicks to be dealt very moderately with, looke upon the expedition not onely as not being offensive, but likewise as most wholesome and necessary for the publick; for this same reasone, the Emperour then made knowen to his envoye in England that he would not trouble himself with that King's affaires. 2ndly. That the outrages committed by the commonality of England against Roman Catholicks is not in the least layed to his Highness's charge, either by the Emperour or his ministers, who unanimously assure Mr. Hop that such violent actions must be looked upon as by a people irritated by a most burthensome government, of which being freed, they are resolved to be avenged before a new one is settled; and to this it must be attributed that the Emperour, when the English envoye represented to him the said outrages, declined the writeing more seriously to the Prince in favour of the Roman Catholicks, as the foresayed envoye would have persuaded him to doe, and his Majesty wholly relyeth upon the Prince's performing the promises made to him. 3rdly. The moderation toward Catholicks that hath evidently appeared since the time his Highness hath been pleased to take upon him the direction of English affaires, which is every where talked of by the ministers of the House of Austria, hath not onely stop'd the mouths of all that were ill inclined, but hath likewise given full satisfaction even to the very bigots; in so much that, two dayes agone, the Pope's Nuntius himself let his satisfaction herein appeare to Mr. Hop. 4thly. Besides his Highness's moderation, the Emperour's aim, which in all secrecy is communicated to Mr. Hop, is to concert with his Highness, and through him with England, as likewise with the States, about much more important and weighty matters, which his Majesty, because of their importance and privacy, desired to be communicated to the States by Mr. Hop in persone, who upon the same account expecteth every moment the States' license to take journey for the Hague.

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27*th Feb.*—Mr. Hop imparteth to the Greffier his Imperial Majesty's intention of makeing a stricter allyance with England and Holland. To this end, by occasion of the speedy success of his Highness's expedition, on the Emperour's part it was premised, first, by those of the Court, who for the most part doe common business, that it were fitt the Emperour, and in generall the House of Austria, should take hold of so favourable ane opportunity of setting bounds to the power of France by a good confederacy and conjunction with England and Holland: thereafter the Ambassadour of Spain, Marquis d'Este Borgomaine, whom the Emperour not only on account of his character, but likewise of his birth, taketh more notice of, and consulteth oftner in business of importance than his owne ministers, conferred with Mr. Hop in the beginning of January upon this subject:

thereafter Count Stratman told Mr. Hop that Baron Görtz, being sent here last yeare, with recommendation from the Prince, and power from the States, to renewe their allyance with the Emperour, which renewall was granted by his Imperial Majesty, and in presence of Count Stratman and one Secretary of State onely, was perfected with all imaginable privacy, hade advanced further, and saied that the States were well inclined to a nearer allyance with his Imperial Majesty: yet at that time nothing further was done in this business, tho' his Imperial Majesty seemed, even then, not to be averse from such a neare allyance, there being as yet no other allyance betwixt his foresayed Majesty and the States but that which is onely a consequence and inclusion of the League of Association, which the States hade concluded with the King of Sweden, anno 1681. By which, as many alledge, his Imperial Majesty, if the States be attacqued, is onely obliged to a moderate assistance and not to a rupture, therefor it were necessary to concert upon a mutual stricter allyance which might be maintained by a vigorous and mutual resistance. That what was necessary to be done herein required the greatest secrecy and management of time, thereby to prevent all the machinations of such who will not approve of this neare allyance and strict conjunction. Mr. Hop is informed by sure and authentick hands that we have great reasone to apprehend ane accomodation betwixt the Pope and France; the last haveing not onely imployed the utmost of his credit, but likewise granted to make great concessions to the Romish Chair for obtaineing the same: hereupon will certainely follow new propositions of reconcileing the Emperour and the French, either from the Pope, or, as they write from Paris, directly from the King of France; to which eare will certainely be given by four sets of people that are at this Court: the first two are the French accomplices and such who, by neare affinitye and other tyes, are attached to Cardinal Fustemberg, who, to be sure, faile not to make more friends here; a third sort are those whose sentiments are weake and not so well grounded as to be able to resist the two former classes; the fourth and last sort are such who, in regard of their particular advantages by continuations of Turkish conquests, would rather see the warr with France put to ane end than the Turkish warr: in consideration of both which warrs they reasone thus:— The makeing ane end of a warr but just now arisen betwixt the Emperour and the French King, in which the Emperour in his owne particular hath not as yet suffered so much but that it could superabundantly be repaired, is both easier and preferable to the terminateing of the Turkish warr, which hath been carried on so long with great advantage, and by the continuation of which further advantage might be hoped for. These same people, at the time that France made offers to this Court of restoreing to the Emperor Strasburg, Brisac, yea and whole provinces, were of opinion that his Majesty should make use of so favourable ane opportunity.

The Emperour, after all, hath given no eare to these and other such propositions; yet, on the other hand, it is hard to knowe what influence new and more advantageous propositions may have, when made either by the Pope, or rather by France after his accomodation with the Pope; and more

uncertaine it is what the abovementioned people's operations with the Emperour may effectuate in this matter.

That too much stress is not to be layed upon the United Provinces, who in the end of the last warr let it clearely enough appeare how little they layed to heart the Emperour's interest. That England and Holland being now so closely united and joyned together, would carry on the warr alone, without regard to the interests of this or any other Courts that may be ingaged in the warr; that the bad events of all the foresayed machinations may be prevented by a speedy *adjustement* of the foresayed nearer allyance, since, by help of this, the Emperour, as one who most religiously keepeth his given *parole*, can and must decline all representations and propositions that may be made in behalf of France, whether immediately, or mediately by the Pope, who may perhaps doe it in order to his makeing a separate peace with that Crown. Hereupon was it that the Marquis D'Este Borgomaine presented in writeing his advice herein to the Emperour, who, relishing the same, in a privy council where were present the two Princes of Dietrichstein, Counts Coningseg, Œtting, Windisgratz, and Stratman, declared his good disposition to nearer allyance and confederacy with the States.

25*th Feb.*—As to the form of the allyance, the manner of proceeding therein, and the fittest wayes of communicateing the same and other particulars, the Emperour concerted them with Count Stratman and the Marquis de Borgomain alone; with these it was deliberated whether it were fittest to make knowne this his Majesty's disposition by Mr. Crampvich at the Hague, or by one sent on purpose, or finally by Mr. Hop. Mr. Crampvich is not judged fitt for this business, by reasone that he hath, as is reported, acquired but small favour either with the States or Prince some time agone; besides it was judged that a business of such importance and *delicatesse* ought not to be trusted to the uncertaine arriveall of letters. The sending of ane express is declined by reasone of the occasion it would give of searcheing into the cause of such ane ambassade, and consequently of labouring against it: finally it was judged best to imploy Mr. Hop hereiff, who could undertake the journey under pretence of other business, and, beside this, the Emperour hereby gave a private mark of his confidence in the States, in that he preferred one of their Ministers to his owne in such a weighty affaire. Immediately hereupon Count Stratman, assisted with one of the Secretaryes of State, communicated what followeth:—

That France, many yeares agone, lookeing upon the States of Holland as a stone of stumbling, and ane impediment in the effectuateing of his farr-fetched designs, hade resolved, if possible, totally to ruine and destroy that Republick: to this end began he the warr Anno 1672, and, ever since the treaty of Nimuegen, hath he been picking quarrels, sometimes under one, sometimes under aneother, pretext with the States, against whom he hade declared a new warr with the very same design; that the King of England seemed to have the same design and aime. This was the cause of all the intreaties and proposeals made by France and England for uniteing the Houses of Austria, Bourbon, and Stewart, and for this same end it was, that

France and England let the Emperour's conquests over the Turks goe on so long unhindered, that so hereby he might not be in a condition to hinder their designs upon Holland. That the interest of Cardinal Furstemberg, in the Archbishoprick of Cullen, was backed by both these Kings, and the Emperour, not thinking good to astipulate to their foresayed Majestyes, was, for this cause, assaulted by ane open warr from France. That the preparations made, and still a makeing by his Imperial Majesty, for goeing againest the ennemy with a due and convenient force could not be unknowne. That his Majesty hade already drawen many of his troopes out of Hungary, and sent them toward the Empire, there to forme a considerable camp. That he hade caused the Ministers of France to retire from this place and from Regensburg; he hade likewise published *avocatoria* calling home all subjects of the Empire, out of the service of France and its adherents; and that the calling of them off from not onely correspondeing with the subjects of the Empire, but likewise of all Christendome (as wes done againest the Turks), is declared, that it may be done upon the footeing of the procedures againest France, Anno 1544: likewise the importation of French wares and manufactures and all product of that countrey is prohibited; and finally, which is most remarkeable, that his Majesty, to putt himself in a better posture againest France, and in regard to the good of the publick, hath resolved to stop the course of his victoryes over the Turks, and give care to a peace, hereby designeing to putt himself in a condition to wage warr with France the more vigorously. Upon all which considerations his Majesty hade commanded him to desire Mr. Hop for to make proposition to the States, whether it would not be conduceable to the promotion and advancement of a firme resisting France, and its adherents, to make a nearer concert with one aneother, by which the interests of both partyes might be so conjoyned and, with such reciprocal conveniencyes, united, as that they may be ensured now and hereafter againest all Syrenes. With this he declared that, if the States were disposed, the Emperour would be now, and henceforward, well inclined and satisfied with such a *concert*. As to the proposeing particular conditions, herein Count Stratman told Mr. Hop, not as if it were by the Emperour's order, but by way of discourse, that if the States were pleased to make any project to his Majesty herein, the same might be brought about with very much ease; and, as the Ambassadour of Spaine sayeth, this reservedness seemeth to proceed from the opinion they have of the Emperour's being first in *rang*, who therefor cannot in honour present a project, but may well receive one, and then declare his pleasure therein. After these premises Count Stratman, on his owne accord, and onely by way of discourse, proposed that, that is hereafter contained in Mr. Hop's project presented to the Emperour, addeing nevertheless that, if the States liked these his proposals, the Emperour would possibly be found not averse from them. The foresayed allyance, as was proposed among other things, should be made after the forme of the Emperour's league with Pole and Venice againest the Turks, commonly called *fœdus sacrum*. On the conclusion of this conference, Count Stratman desired most earnestly that these affaires might be handled with the greatest deli-

catesse, and that, in case a proportionable and correspondent inclination to these his Majesty's intentions should not be found in the States, then all that is sayed should be esteemed as not sayed, and as if never such a word had been spoken.

Mr. Hop sent away his relation, whereby he incurred Count Stratman's displeasure, who hath protested vehemently againest it, and yesternight added thereto, that since the Emperour's pleasure concerning this neare allyance and confederacy with the States was communicated to him meerely and purely to the end that he should communicate the same to the States by word of mouth, if the same were putt in writeing and sent to them, he could not stand for, nor promise, the Emperour's approbation or avoucheing of the same, by reasone that in affaires of such *delicatesse* many things might by word of mouth be sayed, which people would not willingly commit to, or vouch in writeing, and moreover that he would not answer for any change of affaires that may either proceed from the advantagious propositions of peace that the French King (as we are advised from Paris) is a new to offer to this Court, or from the difficulties and broils that are arisen in the Franconian and Suabian circles, chiefly about Saxony's upbraideing them for attracting the quartering of more forces among them, by which the necessary subsistence of the Imperial Regiments that are upon their march toward their formeing the Imperial Army in the Empire is almost taken away, insomuch that if these affaires be not speedily redressed, the Emperour, accordeing to Count Coningseg's report, is resolved to insinuate to the Empire that it will be impossible for him to carry on the warr. That which is before mentioned of ane allyance offensive and defensive to be made up between the Emperour and States, was, by the Emperour's order, proposed to Mr. Hop, and that with regard to England; so that if England, by the Prince's instigation, were at the same time inclined, or if onely Holland, with condition of includeing England, was inclined to make such ane allyance with this Court, then his Majesty would be allwayes found well disposed that way: on which occasion Count Stratman hath insinuated, with protestation nevertheless that these were his owne private sentiments which related not in the least to the Emperour, that he doubted not but that difficulty would be made at this Court of being the first that maketh allyance with England after the new coronation, and that therefor expedients should be thought of for removeing this difficulty; as, for example, proceeded his Excellence, the States of Holland may make in their owne, so well as the behalf of England, such ane allyance as might for the time oblige England, the Emperour, and themselves to the execution of it. Hereupon Count Stratman not obscurely insinuated, but the Ambassadour of Spain plainely declared, that the Emperour, whose finances are mightily exhausted by the Turkish warr, at the makeing of the foresayed allyance ought to receive some subsidies, to give which, Holland, in all probability, would not be inclined, but that they might be well expected from England, since that kingdome hath been so long without warr, and may, either by sparcing their forces by sea or land, finde out subsidyes for the Emperour.

6*th March.*—Mr. Hop received a letter from the States, with their resolution of the 12th joyned therewith, whereby he is desired by no meanes to leave Vienna, but here to wait for further orders of makeing a nearer allyance between the Emperour and them.

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7*th March.*—By ane express currier from Paris, sent to Mons. Louvois his son, who is still in arrest here, is brought the news of the Queen of Spain's sudden decease.

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10*th March.*—The Turkish Ambassadours haveing declared that they will not accept of their Highnesses' offices, maketh Mr. Hop's stay at Vienna the more necessary, for the foresayed Ambassadours, upon notice of Mr. Hop's having received leave to goe to Holland, urged with great zeale his longer stay at Vienna, and that his journey, in consideration of the foresayed negotiation, might be delayed.

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13*th March.*—The Earl of Carlingford, haveing audience of the Emperour, presented a letter from the late King of England his master, wherein he offereth his mediation between the Emperour, Empire, and the French King, and to present the same formally. Mr. Skeltone, formerly his Envoye in Holland, was on his way hitherwards. The Pope is likewise ready to offer his mediation; but we are certifyed by sure hands that neither of these, as this Court is at present disposed, will be acceptable.

17*th March.*—Mr. Hop congratulateth the Prince of Orange's elevation to the Crown of Great Brittaine.

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31*st March.*—The Duke of Lorraine arrived at Vienna.

The wished for newes of the Prince and Princess of Orange's elevation to the throne of Brittaine arriveing about the same time that the Turkish treaty of peace broke up and ended, occasioneth many and weighty reflections to be made upon both; especially in regarde of the new King; it being much debated what conduct and measures ought to be taken, so as that not onely all coldness and misunderstandeing be removed, but likewise a perfect confederacy established.

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6*th Aprill.*—The Emperour desired the Ambassadour of Spaine to write to his master at Madrid that, notwithstanding the continuance of the Turkish warr, he hade effectively 27,000 men of his owne troopes, whom he is to imploy in the Empire againest France.

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The late King of England haveing, in a letter dated 6th February, represented his present misfortune, and withall desired assistance from the Emperour, received for answer that his Imperial Majesty carryeth affection enough for him, but since his disastres are occasioned by his untimely zeale for the Roman Catholick religion and his too great addictedness to France, from both which he hade endeavoured to dissuade him, tho' in vane, by Counts Thun and Caunitz, both whom he hade sent to London on purpose,

that at present he could not help him, he being obliged to associate himself with those who are ennemies to the ennemies of the Empire.

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21*st Aprill.*—Mr. Hop received by ane express currier, that came away the 12th instant, the States their secret resolution and instructions,[1] dated 11th instant, together with their required pouvoir to treate with the Emperour in the abovementioned allyance, together with a letter from Mr. Heinsius, President of the Council, upon the same subject.[2]

... 23*rd Aprill.*—Mr. Hop sendeth to Count Stratman a project of the articles of the allyance to be made with the Emperour, with the two following remarks:—1stly. That as to the States doeing their endeavours with the Electours that the King of Hungary may be likewise chosen King of the Romans, that, tho' the States are well enough disposed to doe their endeavours, and use all friendly methods to induce the Electours thereto, yet, that all sort of jealousies may be prevented, he thinketh it not necessary that this be made ane article of the allyance, but rather that his Imperial Majesty be satisfied with the promises that the States make him by letter or otherwayes. 2ndly. That the States ought to be assured that they, notwithstanding the continuation of the warr with the Turks, should not loose the power of effectuateing the allyances, and that, in case of the peace with the Turks, his Excellence must, before all things, informe him how many troopes the Emperour would imploye against France, the common ennemy; to the end that the design of the Munster, Osnaburg, and Pyrenean peaces may be obtained.

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25*th Aprill.*—The reasone that they proposed that Mr. Hop should goe in persone to the Hague was that, since the Emperour was intangled in two warres, and that there was no mutual engagement to a rupture between him and the States, neither was Mr. Hop like to have so soone his instructions for makeing a new allyance, which Baron Görtz hade last yeare desired in the name of the States.

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Herein likewise was to be considered that tho' the Emperour and his chief ministers were well enough satisfyed with the change in English affaires, occasioned by the sudden elevation of the Prince of Orange to the throne, yet they were willing to forbeare acknowledgeing him as such, and would continue, as the Ambassadour of Spaine sayed, in this their reservedness till either the present King of England declared warr against France, or entered into the foresayed allyance with this Court for the interest of the publick; it was, moreover, consequently to be feared that upon his Majesty's imparteing to this Court his elevation to the throne of England, such a speedy answer might possibly not be given him, as in reasone would be expected, upon which might arise a coldness and indifferency, which at this time is to be shunned; for which cause it was judged altogether convenient and necessary fully to informe his Majesty of the disposition of this Court, not

[1] See No. 4, p. 356.

[2] See No. 5, p. 359.

oncly hereby to prevent all misunderstanding, but likewise to make up a sincere friendship and allyance between the Emperour, the States, and him, so much the sooner and more speedily.

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27th Aprill.—Count Stratman presenteth to the Emperour a draught of the articles of the allyance delivered by Mr. Hop to him, and translated by his Excellence in Latin; this the Emperour hath reade over with much attention, and generally is very well pleased with it.

Mr. Hop, desireing of Count Stratman to be informed of the remarks which the Emperour hath made upon the foresayed draught of articles, is told that the followeing are made:—

1stly. That the endeavours of the States to be used with the Electours, to the end that the King of Hungary may be chosen King of the Romans, ought to be comprehended in a secret article by itself.

2ndly. That the same way, by way of addition, ought to be inserted the payment of the oweing subsidyes, which is the rather mentioned because Mr. Crampvich writeth from the Hague that he hath from sure handes that the States, if urged thereto, would grant payment of the foresayed subsidyes.

3rdly. That the point of religion and moderation therein ought to be on this occasion agreed upon.

Lastly. That some articles here and there, without touching the substance, may be extended and enlarged.

28th Aprill.—The Emperour thinketh fitt to joyn to Mr. Hop, as Commissaryes, Counts Coningseg, Œtting, Windisgratz, and Stratman.

29th Aprill.—Mr. Hop desireth Count Stratman, by billet, that his Imperial Majesty be requested to permitt the conferences, without further delay, to be begun, and that, in order to the speedier proceeding and for greater secrecy, there may be onely one or at most two Commissaries joyned to him. The same by a billet to Count Stratman is desired by the Ambassadour of Spaine. The Electour of Bavaria's presence, and the deliberations that are held with him about the operation of the army upon the Upper Rhine, are the cause of adjourneing so long the foresayed conferences.

30th Aprill.—Mr. Hop received the letters dated 16th and 19th inst. from Heinsius, President of the Council.[1]

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2nd May.—His Majesty was pleased to nominate Counts Coningseg and Stratman for his two Commissaries, and at the same time ordained the conferences to be begun that same day.

The foresayed conference being begun in the evening late, Mr. Hop, at the request of the Commissaries, opened the conference with ane account of the intention and resolution of the States anent the makeing of the foresayed allyance; and, after a summary deduction of what is passed for some time in relation to the business in hand, he presented to them a draught of the articles, which, accordeing to the minde and instructions of the States,

[1] See No. 6, p. 360.

dated 11th of last moneth, ought, as necessary ingredients of the allyance, to be agreed upon: and hereto he immediately added that tho' there is nothing done in the treaty of peace with the Turks, and that consequently the Ottoman warr would be carried on so vigorously as ever, nevertheless the Emperour must be obliged to keep at least 30,000 men on foot againest the French, besides those which he kept in his garrisones.

Hereupon the draught was read; and thereafter it was, by way of discourse, moved, whether the allyes that are presently allyed with both sides should be comprehended onely, or if such who hereafter came to be allyed with either party, as for example, the King of Denmark, Republick of Switzerland, &c., should likewise be included. Further, whether the former treaties betwixt the Emperour and States, and the league of association with Swedland, in which his Imperial Majesty is likewise included, ought here to come into consideration. The foresayed gentlemen, haveing spoken together aside, made answer that they doubted not but that the foresayed draught would be accepted with very great pleasure, and as a mark of the good and sincere intention which the States hade to live in the greatest trust and confidence with his Imperial Majesty, that they would inquire if his Majesty hade any thing to add or change in the articles, and thereafter would, with all speed, informe Mr. Hop thereof.

Count Stratman privately advertised Mr. Hop, that that which, accordeing to the intention of the States, was to be agreed upon in separate articles, to the end that it might be less subject to elimination, in his Majesty's opinion ought to be concluded with him alone.

3rd May.—The Emperour was at his devotion.

4th May.—His Majesty went to Laxenburg to pass two dayes in rest and without business; for this cause the foresayed report was retarded till Sunday the 8th. Count Coningseg told Mr. Hop, that when he discoursed, the 4th inst., with the Emperour upon this draught of allyance, he perceived that the same was received very favourably by his Majesty, and withall added, that Mr. Hop might write to the States, that they might be assured that this business would be very quickly concluded.

The foresayed draught being as yet in the hands of Counts Coningseg and Stratman, is, by his Majesty's command, likewise examined by Counts Œtting and Windisgratz, whose advice herein being drawen up, is this morneing delivered to his Majesty at Laxenburg, who is therewith fully satisfyed without letting this business pass through the ordinary channel of his Privy Council, and that for the greater secrecy?

Thereafter he ordered Counts Coningseg and Stratman to enter upon this footeing, and draw up and sign the foresayed treaty with Mr. Hop; to which end they are provided with full power and authority from his Majesty. Moreover, his Majesty added that he would willingly see the Duke of Lorraine expressly included in this treaty, as effectually he was comprehended in the Pyrenean Treaty, to which the termini pacis in this negociation must referr, and in several other conventions made, since that time, betwen the States and the foresayed Duke. And finally, that the States would seriously thinke of payeing the subsidies still oweing to his Imperial

Majesty: but withall his Majesty insinuated that his intention was not, by these remarks, especially the first and last, to hinder the signeing of the treaty.

It is, therefor, desired that the articles be drawen up and made ready for the signing.

12*th May*.—The treaty, with the separate articles, were signed late at night, and the day thereafter sent to the Hague by ane express currier.

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13*th May*.—The rest of the articles are all conforme to the draught sent by the States, except that Mr. Hop, at the request of the Emperour's commissaries, in hopes of the States' ratification, hath consented to that part of the 8th article where it is sayed that the Allyes shall defend one ancother's rights againest the French King and his adherents; and to that part of the 9th article where it is sayed that all differences about the borderers shall be friendly taken away.

The time allotted for interchangeing the ratifications is a moneth; that so this confederation may be speedily accomplished, and the time managed for inviteing the Kings of England and Spaine to enter into the sayed confederacy: that thus the allyance, which is the chief end, may be corroborate so soone as is possible.

The two Commissaries signed the allyance above Mr. Hop, and that because, as they pretended, the Imperial Ministers haveing, in a commission, the character of representatives, have allwayes this privilege granted them by all foreign ministers. To the confirmation of which they adduced, for instance, the treaty of Breda, where the Ministers of this Court signed above the Ambassadours of the States, so well as the Envoyes of England. They made it likewise appeare by produceing the original of the allyance made between the Emperour, King of Pole, and Republick of Venice, anno 1684, againest the Turks, that they hade signed above the foreign ambassadours.

Mr. Hop, nevertheless, protested that by this the States should suffer no prejudice in case it were found out that, at any other time, treatyes betwixt the Emperour's commissaryes and the States' ministers were otherwise signed.

His Imperial Majesty hath urged that the States, at the ratification of this allyance, would be pleased to consent to the inclusion of the Duke of Lorraine; and that the same may be inserted, after the tenth article, in the acts of ratification, where the treaty is to be transcribed verbo tenus.

His Majesty is persuaded that the States will comply with him herein, since the States have at severall times bound themselves in associations with the foresayed Duke to help him to the recovery of his landes. Besides, the King of Great Brittain, bearceing a singular respect to the foresayed Duke for the great services which he hath done to the publick, it is not onely in all probability, but likewise undoubtedly expected that the States will not refuse it. Yea, further; it is shrewdely suspected that this Court will make difficulty in interchangeing the ratifications, if this should be denyed.

Mr. Hop further maketh all possible instances, urgeing that the Emperour

would oblige himself that dureing the Turkish warr he should, at least, have 30,000 men upon foot againest France, and that the foresayed number of souldiers should be expressed in the treaty. But this was so mightily opposed, that the allyance must have been let alone if this point hade been insisted upon without *relachement*.

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The separate articles concerneing the monarchy of Spaine and election of the King of the Romans, are conforme to the intention of the States; but, for secrecy sake, are subscribed by Count Stratman, as deputed thereto, and Mr. Hop alone.

In the secret article the designation of the Archduke of Austria is omitted, for the succession not being as yet positively settled upon him, tho' it belongeth undoubtedly to this august house, his Imperial Majesty judgeth it best onely to make mention of the House of Austria in general. It is likewise judged unnecessary to include Spaine in these two articles, because that the firste directly concerneth it, and because that Crowne, as a member of the House of Austria, cannot faile to be included in the accomplishment of the second article.

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The Emperour's commissaries declare to Mr. Hop, and that oftener than once, that the Emperour will hardly condescend to ratify the foresayed alliance till the States have payed a considerable summ of the oweing subsidies. Mr. Crampvich is likewise, by this post, ordered to speake to the States, and represent unto them the Emperour's mind herein.

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Four dayes agone, in a Council composed of ten Privy Counsellers, it was unanimously resolved and found goode that, whereas the King of England hath been pleased to give notice to this Court of his elevation to the throne, it is likewise fitt that the Emperour be pleased to congratulate him thereupon, and decently acknowlege him as such. But it is judged fitt that, as it useth to be in other publick affaires, so now this ought joyntly to be concerted with the Court of Spaine, for which cause it were requisite to waite for the next Spanish post, by which they might know what the conduct of Madrid were in this affaire. In the meane time the Ambassadour of Spaine declareth to the Emperour that his master will undoubtedly regulate himself by his Imperial Majesty as the eldest of that august House.

5th June.—Mr. Schelton, late envoye at Vennice, at his departure thence, obtained from the Emperour's ambassadour a paspo?t to come into the Emperour's hereditary dominions, upon which he is arrived at Inspruck, where was the Queen of Pole, consort to the Duke of Lorraine, who was gone toward the Rhine: Hereupon Mr. Schelton having produced two letters, one of which was in effect a credential, the other a particular letter from the late King of England to the Duke of Lorraine, the contents of which, as he sayed, besides protestations of friendship, were that his Highness could at present obtain from the King of France full restitution of all his lands and dominions, provided he would seriously applye himself to the procureing of a peace between the Emperour and the French King; to

which end he was himself intrusted with very favourable and fair propositions, for which cause he desired to have audience of the foresayed Queen; but this being denyed him he went to Munichen, where, having desired audience of the Electour of Bavaria, it was likewise, according to the Queen's example, refused him, with the addition that now he could not expect it, since his master is ane adherent to the French King, againest who's adherents, so well as himself, the warr was already declared.

The newes of this conduct being brought to this Court did mightily please the Emperour, who, upon the other hand, was very much dissatisfyed that his ambassadour at Vennice hade granted a pasport to the foresayed Mr. Schelton.

12*th June.*—And now this Court not onely persisteth in its formerly taken resolution, but likewise hath *de novo* given orders that the foresayed Mr. Schelton come not nearer this place, so that he returned from Inspruck to France through Switserland, haveing nevertheless left the abovementioned particular letter to the Duke of Lorraine, which the Queen immediately sent to the Emperour, desireing his Majesty to deliberate what ought to be done with it. The Emperour, without opening it, sent it to the Duke.

Yesterday the Ambassadours of Pole, who were here to assist at the Turkish treaty, hade their farewell audience of the Emperour.

19*th June.*—Arrived here two curriers, who came away from Madrid 26th May. Among other things they bring alongs with them two *pouvoirs*. One blank for the Emperour to marry the Princess Palatine in name of the King of Spaine, the other was to the Ambassadour for perfecting the marriage contract between his master, the King of Spaine, and the foresayed Princess.

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20*th June.*—Count Stratman telleth Mr. Hop that, in case the new Queen of Spaine should goe thither by sea from Holland, the Emperour would take it kindly that she should be waited upon at Cullen with severall yachts from the States, or else at Wesel, and thence conducted to the Briel, as was done to the Queen of Portugall.

The Emperour's answer to the notification made the 11 of May of the King of England's elevation to the throne is delayed, under pretext that, about that time, he was busy in the concert with the Court of Spaine, from whence the dispatches hitherwards came not so quickly as they should. But since they have accounts that his Most Catholick Majesty hath not onely commanded the Earl of Staffort, envoye from the late King of England, to be gone out of his kingdomes, but hath likewise sent Count Mansfelt to London to desire the lend of the King of Great Brittain's fleet to bring over the new Queen of Spaine, and in consideration that the Imperial Commissioners at Regensburgh desire to be informed how to carry themselves in regard of the foresayed King of England, the Emperour hath at last ordered Count Coningseg (who is one of them to whom are entrusted English affaires) to dispatch the foresayed *congratulation*.

26*th June.*—Today it is made publick that the Emperour is to be at Newburgh 'gainest the 27th of the next moneth, there to be present at the cele-

bration of the nuptials in name of the King of Spaine with the Princess Palatine: from thence he goeth immediately to Augsburgh, thus to be nearer the operations of warr upon the Rhine.

27th June.—President Canon delivereth to Mr. Hop the Duke of Lorraine's congratulation of the King of England's elevation to the throne, in answer to the notification thereof, which his Majesty hade pleased to send him. The foresaid congratulatory letter was dated 20th of May, so that, as Mr. Hop observed, it should have been sent away long agoe; but in consideration that the forementioned Duke is ane officer in the Emperour's service, and was obliged to let this Court know of his conduct in such ane affaire, it was excused, and sent away after the ordinary post, which went away at breake of day, with ane express that will overtake him. It is certain that the two Jesuites, and perhaps more, who make up the Emperour's and Empresse's conscience councill, were consulted about the sending away the Emperour's congratulatory letter to the King of England, and, as some say, gave their consent to it.

The new Queen of Spain's journey is determined to be begun the 19th of August, at which time she is to leave Newburgh in order to goe to Spaine by the way of Holland.

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30th June.—The onely reasone given out for the Emperour and the whole Court's journey to Regensburgh is that the Emperour, upon the desire of the Electour of Bavaria, may be nearer the operations of the Germane troopes againest France. But the chief reasone is, that now, if ever, when the Princes of Germany, together with the Electours, are so united, and well inclined to the House of Austria, is the time for getting the King of Hungary, eldest sone to the Emperour, elected King of the Romans, and that because the ministers of France, before this warr, did, not obscurely, insinuate at severall Courts of Germany that the King their master intended if possible to have his sone, the Dauphin, elevated to this dignity, and thus to have the House of Austria excluded therefrom.

To this design of the Emperour consented the Electour of Bavaria, while here in time of the late Treaty, as likewise his brother the Electour of Cullen, who hath since that time sent hither his consent in writeing. The votes of the King of Bohemia, and Electour Palatine, as reposed in the Emperour himself, are sure.

3rd July.—The Electour of Brandenburgh hath, as it's reported, declared likewise his favourable inclinations this way. The Electour of Mentz, by a letter brought here some dayes agone, hath not onely given his consent, but likewise declared that it is his opinion that they proceed in this conjuncture without any further delay to the election; there remaineth onely the Electour of Saxony, who, upon very considerable reasones, will not, as is thought, dissent from the rest.

Hereupon Count Œtting, under pretence of takeing a turne to the Electour Palatine at Newburgh, is really sent to Erfurt for to conferr with the Electour of Mentz as Chancellour of the Empire, and Deane of the Electoral College, about what is necessary to the hastening of the foresayed

election, and other things belongeing thereto. In the meane time the above mentioned time is fixed thereto, and the citty of Auspurgh, where Ferdinand the 4th, eldest brother to the Emperour, was chosen King of the Romans, pitched upon as most proper for the election.

In the Emperour's congratulatory letter to the King of Great Brittaine, it is to be observed, first, that the Emperour giveth him the title of *Serenitas*, which is ordinarily given by this Court to all Kings, but of late the King of France pretended the title of *Majestas*, and at last obtained that, in letters sent by the Chancery from the Emperour to the King of France, he should have the title of *Serenitas*, but in the Emperour's particular letters he should have the title of *Majestas*; the same likewise pretended and obtained the Earl of Carlingford, last yeare, for his Master the late King of England, insomuch that, after this gift, the French King, and, in all appearance, the King of England likewise, scrupled to receive any other than private letters from this Court, to the end that they might allwayes have the title of Majestas, and not that of *Serenitas*; secondly, it is to be wished that this illustrious example of the King of England's moderation toward the Papists were followed, in regard of the Protestants of these countryes, by those of this Court, who, though they have received sufficient proofes of the foresayed moderation, forbeare not nevertheless to burthen his Majesty upon all occasions with pressing and urgeing of him anew to it, as they have lately againe done in the foresayed congratulatory epistle. But how differently they are inclined, appeareth not onely from the dayely complaints of the Protestant Churches in Hungary, but likewise from thence, that it is not so much as allowed that the cittizens of this place who are of the Protestant religion, to which are addicted the most part of the most substantial merchants in town, should have the exercise of their devotion at forreign Ministers' houses, without incurreing the hazard of being fined in three or 400 crowns, in case they are discovered, not to mention other examples of less importance.

The abovementioned congratulatory epistle being dispatched, the Ambassadour of Spaine, together with Mr. Hop, have urged the Emperour that, in imitation of what is done at Madrid and the Hague to the Earl of Staffort and the Marquis d'Abbeville, he would be pleas'd to dimitt the Earl of Carlingford. Yesterday it was told Mr. Hop that the Emperour is resolved not onely to forbid the foresayed Earl of Carlingford to wait upon the Court on its journey to Auspurgh, but, at the same time, to order his Lordship to depart out of the Empire, haveing been some time agoe determined to have sent him sooner away, for, even then, he was but very little noticed at Court.

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11*th July*.—Mr. Hop, conform to the States order, endeavoureth by all meanes to get the Emperour to consent to a separate article, wherein he obligeth himself to imploy at least 30,000 men againest France over and above those he hath in his garrisones, and those he maketh use of againest the Turks dureing the Turkish warr; but these his endeavours have no more, nor other, success than formerly.

But the excuses which Mr. Hop, in name of the States, hath made for not payeing the pretended subsidies have hade better effect, especially while Mr. Hop was whispered privately in the care, that it was not to be further pressed directly in the name of the Emperour, and that tho', at the signeing of the Treaty, it was resolved, *pro formâ* onely, to retard the ratification thereof till the foresayed subsidies were payed, at least in part; yet now the Emperour hath commanded to make this no impediment in ratifying and interchangeing the ratifyed treaties, which was accordingly done by both parties upon the 15th instant.

17*th July*.—Today were interchanged the ratifications of the foresayed separate articles.

19*th July*.—Mr. Hop tooke journey to Holland.

DOCUMENTS REFERRED TO IN THE APPENDIX.

No. 1.

Extract out of the Resolutions of the High and Mighty States-General of the United Netherlands.

Jovis, 28 Octobris, 1688.

After deliberation, it is resolved and found good to impart to the ministers of the States who are abroad in foreign countries the reasons that moved their Highnesses to assist with ships and forces his Highness the Prince of Orange, now goeing over in persone to England, that with these they may serve themselves, where it is necessary, and when occasion offereth. It is accordingly ordered to write to the foresaid ministers that it is known to the whole world how the nation of England hath for a long time murmured and complained of their King's, without doubt by the evil counsel of his ministers, incroaching upon their fundamental lawes, and labouring, by the breach of them and introducing of the Popish religion, to rob them of their liberty and ruine the Protestant religion, and, in fine, to bring all to one arbitrary government: that when this perverse and wrong conduct was more and more insisted in, and the danger of the apprehended disasters grew daily greater and greater by this, there arose such a diffidence in, and aversion of their King, that nothing but a general disorder and confusion was to be looked for in that kingdome. Then the Prince of Orange resolved to lend to that nation—so justly and upon so good ground complaineing of their government—his assisting and helping hand; and this in regard to the manifold representations and earnest and reiteral requests made to his Highness by a great number of Lords, and others of best note in that kingdome, together with the interest which her Royal Highness, so well as himself, hade in the welfare of that kingdome, for which cause he could not well stand by and see, that by these quarrels and animosities —let them end how they would—he should run the risk of being secluded from the crowne; and thus he is obliged to vigilat, and take care for the good and welfare of that kingdome; and this so much the rather, because the welfare of the State—with the care of which he is already intrusted—dependeth much upon the peace and quiet of the kingdome of England, and the removal of diffidence between the King and the nation. His Highness, knoweing well enough that to succeed in this laudable and important design, and not to be hindered therein by ill-inclined people, it would be necessary for him to goe over in persone, and to be followed by some force of souldiers, this his intention he made knowne to the States, and withall desired their assistance. Then the States maturely deliberated

and considered that the Kings of France and Great Brittaine, as the States were often informed, lived in a very good understanding and friendship with one another, so well as in a near and strict allyance; moreover, the States were informed of their Majestyes designing and labouring to breake of from them their Highnesses' Allyes; and now the French king haveing often, yea, upon all occasions, shewed the ill will he bore to this republick, it is to be feared that if the King of Great Brittaine reach his mark, to wit, ane absolute power over his people, then will both these kings, partly out of a maxime of state, and partly out of hatred and zeale against the Protestant religion, endeavour to ruine, and, if possible, to extirpate this republick. Upon these considerations the States resolved to approve of and applaude his Highness's design, and likewise to lend him, and assist him with, ships and forces. Hereupon his Highness declared to the States, that, by God's grace and assistance, he would go over in persone to England, not with the least intention either to invade or conquer that kingdome, farr less with any designe of dethroneing the King, or rendring himself master there; neither hade he any thoughts of prejudgeing or inverting the lawfull succession, nor yet of banishing or persecuting the Papists; but his intention was, merely and purely, for helpeing the nation to the restauration of their violated lawes and privileges, and to the preservation of their religion and liberty; to which end he would endeavour to gett a free and lawfull parliament called in the ordinary manner, and made up of such persons that are regulated and qualifyed by and according to the lawes and forme of government; and by this parliament shall be deliberated and considered and constituted all that is judged necessary to be done for the nobility, clergy, gentry, and people, who are to be assured that their lawes and privileges shall be no more violated or broken. Finally, the States hope and trust that, by God's blessing, the peace and unity of that kingdome may by these meanes be established, and that the foresayed kingdom shall be putt in a condition of concurring vigorously to the common good of Christendome, and to the restauration of peace and tranquillity in Europe. Extracts of this, the States' Resolution, are to be delivered by Agent Rosemboom to all forreign ministers here present for their information and use, where and according as they have occasion.

This agreeth with the foresayd Register,

H. Fagel.

No. 2.

The Emperor to the Prince of Orange.

Most Serene Sir,

Your letter, dated the 26th of the last moneth, was safely delivered to me. By it, with much consolation and estime, I perceive the confidence which you repose in me and my august house; and as I was allwayes perswaded of your designs and intentions being grounded upon justice and equity, so now doe you give a new proof and certification of the same, in that you are resolved to enterprise nothing against the throne, crowne, or sceptre of the King of Great Brittaine, nor against the right of him to whom the legal succession belongeth, but that you design to further the layeing aside and takeing away, by lawfull and fitt meanes, the mistakes arisen betwixt the King and his people; and this you propose as the end and aime of your business now in hand, by which the publick good and quiet of Christendome, that is so much disturbed by a mighty and hostile crowne, may be the better settled and fortified. It is no less satisfaction to me to understand that you are intended to have the irreptitious penal statutes against Catholics in England abolished, and to have Papists secured from all trouble or molestation that may happen to them there for con-

science' sake. But it would yet more oblige yourself, me, and the publick, in so much that the whole world would acknowledge it with applauses, if your business could be so ordered, that those of the King's religion be not declared incapable (farr less deprived meerely upon that account) of serveing him and the kingdome, in civil and politicall employments, by which meanes, in all appearance, the composition with the King of England will be likewise rendred much easier: you know well enough how that the privilege of burgeshers was granted to those of the three religions in Germany, by the treaty of Westphalia, and in how good a harmony and correspondence they lived so long as France raised no troubles. I observe the same still in my armyes, and you likewise, in the glorious exercise of your governement, have never excluded Catholick officers of merit from any charge in your army. This, together with that that you write to me in the letter delivered me, doeth sufficiently confirme me that, *ab ipsis incunabulis*, you have had ane aversion from such who persecute Christians. Christianity suffereth at present, not for religion's sake, but because of ambition. Ane instance of this is to be seen in that which the French King, *ex hoc ambitionis principio*, hath lately devised and put in execution *contra dissentientes a suâ religione* in that kingdome, and what now he enterpriseth against the Pope, me, and the whole Romane empire, notwithstanding that we differ not in the matter of religion. As now I have in this my answer entrusted all this to you, so doe I expect that by instigation of your zealous and laudable desire of the publick good, you will, for further sinceration, receive and intertaine with the same trust, the resolution which I now communicate to you, to wit, that I, in my eminent station and imperial office, doe purpose to imploy all the power which God hath lent me, for the good of the publick and necessities of suffering Christianity, to prevent bloodshed, and to take away misunderstandings. In the meane time I wish for the blessing and assistance of God to this end. Moreover I relye upon the lately arrived here extraordinary envoye, Mr. Hop, with whom I give orders to confer upon several things. I continue yours, &c. &c.

Vienna, 13th November, 1688.

No. 3.

MOST NOBLE AND WORTHY SIR, London, 26th Jan. 1689.

His Highness hath desired me to address the inclosed letter written by him to the Emperor to you; withall, to recommend to you, in his name, that you will make use of all reasones and arguments, applicable to the subject, for perswadeing the Emperour and his chief ministers, that, by his Highness's expedition and undertakeing in this kingdome, it was not in the least designed to persecute or maltreat the Papists, and that this shall clearely appeare, at least in the sequel of time and affaires, by his conduct here and unchangeable attachement to the interest of the Emperour's empire and the other allies of that religion, together with his zeale for promoting the welfare of the publick. It is indeed true that some things are just in regard of the Roman Catholicks, that seem not to agree with the above mentioned declaration. But such as are impartial will easily discern that that which is fallen out could not be but very great in these first motions after a general discontent and dissatisfaction with the King and his Popish Council: especially since, by the departure of the King, all government in a manner ceased; besides, all that can be alledged to be done is done by the common people, and that at times and in places when and where his Highness was not present, and consequently could neither provide against, nor give orders for hindering, the same. His Highness is likewise very much troubled for what is come to pass, and done already, and hath likewise shewed his displeasure therewith, and is likewise fully resolved to make all reparation in business, wherein it can possibly be

done, as particularly all the disorders and injuries which the Ambassadour of Spain hath suffered in his chappell and house. That his Highness will on all occasions incessantly endeavour and use all meanes to bring the Parliament and nation to more moderate thoughts in regard of the Papists, to all of whom, who carry themselves as faithful and loyal subjects ought to doe, he doubteth not but that he'l procure the privelege of liveing and dwelling in peace and quiet, and of enjoyeing liberty of conscience. This is, most noble Sir, the substance of what his Highness willeth me to write to you, which I have so much the more willingly undertaken, because of my haveing thereby ane occasion of assureing you that I am, &c.,

EVERARDE VAN WREDE.

P.S.—I must here add two things: one is that the trainbands would have hindered the insolence committed upon the *hostel* of Spaine, hade not Ambassadour Ronquillo's people fired upon them with pistols and musquets when they were surroundeing the house for the same end, so that they were forced to retire, as the Captain of the foresayd trainbands, who is a very honest gentleman and my particular acquaintance, hath declared. The other thing is, that a certaine write printed shortly after his Highness's descent, and spread up and downe under the title of his Highness's third declaration, wherein are a great many sharp expressions and menaces, was never published either by his Highness or his command, neither did he so much as know of it; but, since that time, it is discovered that some zealot or other hath made and caused it to be printed.

MOST NOBLE AND WORTHY SIR, London, 28th Ditto, 1689.

YESTERDAY I gave myself the honour to write to you his Highness's mind anent the business of the Catholicks of this kingdome, since which time I am informed that, about two dayes agone, a declaration hath been published here, by which, under severe punishment, Papists (some being excepted) are commanded to retire ten miles from the citty; concerneing this I thinke fitt to communicate to you my thoughts, and the followeing information, because I know that, this being knowne at the Emperour's Court, may be the occasion of giving new offence. Know then that his Highness, being sett upon for issueing forth this proclamation, by such instances and requests of the clergy so well as the nobility, could not delay nor shun doeing of it, not onely by reasone that prudence requireth all cautionesse to be used againste Romane Catholicks, who are all of the King's, while as yet all things are not restored, nor settled in peace and quiet, nor the governement reestablished; but, likewise, because it is here the ordinary custome to issue forth such orders before the calling of the Parliament, so that now, the convention for establishing of the governement being to sitt next week, it was altogether requisite that such orders be published. This, the Ambassador of Spaine, as he told me this evening, hath likewise written to the King his Master and to the Emperour's Court.

I continue yours, &c.,

EVERARDE VAN WREDE.

No. 4.

Extract out of the Register of Resolutions of the States Generall of the United Netherlands.

Lunæ, 11 Aprilis, 1689.

HAVEING, by resumption, deliberated upon Mr. Hop, Extraordinary Envoy at the Emperour's Court, his letter written at Vienna the 27th of February last, addressed to Griffier Fagel, containeing a particular account of overtures that were made to him in behalf of the Emperour, for a most strict allyance with the States, not onely to last so long as this warr

continueth, but likewise after that the same shall be finished by a peace, and that for confirmeing and establishing the same peace, as this is more at large declared in the foresayed letter and notes dated in March last: hereupon it is found good and ordered to write back to the foresayed Mr. Hop, and to command him to offer to the Emperour, in name and behalf of the States, to enter into ane offensive and defensive allyance againest the French King and his adherents, so long as this present warr lasteth, and likewise a perpetuall defensive allyance against the foresayed King after the ending of the same warr, and that, for the stricter observation of the peace that shall be made at the end of the foresayed warr, further Mr. Hop is, upon this occasion, to doe his best and most powerfull *devoïrs* to move the Emperour to conclude a good and firm peace with the Turks, seeing that, by this meanes, the foresayed allyance will be the more effectual, and the Emperour will be put in a better condition to carry on, together with the States, the warr more vigorously againest France, the common ennemy. For this end a convenient power shall be sent to the foresayed Mr. Hop, and this, together with the articles followeing, and inserted immediately hereafter, shall serve him for instructions, onely with this reserve, that so much as possible he shall endeavour so to order the affaire, that the article wherein it is treated of perswadeing the Electours in a friendly way to elect the King of Hungary to be King of the Romans (for preventing of all jealousies in the Empire) be not inserted in the treaty, but that his Imperial Majesty content himself with the States' obligation and promise made him by letter or otherwise. And in case this can by no meanes be got effectuated, then this, together with the immediately preceeding and following articles, concerneing the succession of the monarchy of Spaine, its falling into the august House of his Imperial Majesty, and hindering of the lawfull election that may fall upon the King of Hungary, must be treated upon apart, and must be signed and sealed as secret and separate articles from the treaty; and in case the peace with the Turk be not concluded before the entry into this allyance, then the foresayed Mr. Hop is, above all things, to take care that the States, by the diversion of the Emperour's arms againest the Turks, lose not the effect of their foresayed allyance againest France: here he shall labour to gett his Imperial Majesty ingaged and obliged, during the foresayed Turkish warr, to bring to and effectually maintaine in field (besides all his garrisones), wherever it is most necessary againest France, such a number of foot and horse as will be requisite to hurt and weaken the ennemy, to reach the design of this allyance, and effectuate the Munster, Osnabrugg, and Pyrenean Treaties mentioned herein.

W. Baron van Heeckeren.

This agreeth with the foresayed register.

H. Fagel.

Articles serving for ingredients in the Treaty of Allyance between the Emperour on the one side, and the High and Mighty States General of the United Netherlands on the other.

First, that there shall be between his Imperial Majesty on the one side, and the High and Mighty States on the other side, a sincere, inviolable, and everlasting friendship and good correspondence. Consequently they shall mutually seek to promote the good and welfare of one another, and, with their whole power, help to avert and hinder the hurt and disadvantage of one another. And since the King of France, without the least ground or reasone, hath assaulted the forementioned Emperour and States with a most cruel warr, therefore, dureing this warr, shall be betwixt the foresayed contractors ane offensive and defensive allyance, and that accordingly they shall, on both sides, with all their force and power, so well by

sea as land, act hostilely and carry on the warr against the foresayed King and such of his adherents and allies who, after instances and serious desires, will not separate themselves from him. Moreover they shall, from time to time, concert and conferr upon what manner, whether joyntly or separately, their armes may be best and most effectually imployed to the destruction and hurt of the ennemy. That none of the foresayed contrahents, haveing once tooke up arms for the ruine of the common ennemy, shall dare offer to lay down the same, or to intermitt the warr, nor so much as enter upon the least treaty or dealing for peace with the French King and his adherents, without common consent and concurrence. Let matters fall out how they will, this is not to be done till, by the mutual force of armes, all be brought to the termes of the Munster, Osnabrugge, and Pyrenean treaties, and be likewise redressed and restored conforme to these so well in ecclesiasticis as profanis. That all dealings and negotiations for attaineing to a settled and firme peace as formerly shall be made use of, not separately, but with mutual communication and common consent, and this must be done with all sincerity and *bonâ fide*. And thus, when the foresayed warr cometh to ane end, and a peace fallen upon them, shall there remaine betweene the mentioned contrahents a perpetual defensive league againest the King of France and his adherents, and consequently both parties contracting shall contribute all that is in them to the end that the peace remaine firme and perpetual. Nevertheless, in case that at any time (be it when it will) the French King and his adherents should, contrary to the made up treaty and peace, come to fall upon and attack both or either of the foresayed parties contracting, then shall they faithfully assist one another, and, with the utmost of their power, help to avert all hostile actions and violence, and continue herein till all be againe restored, conforming to the treaty and peace made. Further, his Imperial Majesty shall mantaine the principalities, rights, and liberties of the States Generall of the United Provinces, who are likewise, upon the other hand, to defend his Imperial Majesty's dignityes, rights, and liberties againest the French King and his adherents, and this at all times, by all meanes and wayes, and to the utmost of their power; that they are thus mutually to protect and mantaine one another, and not to suffer any incroachments to be made upon their foresayed concerns. And in case the King of Spaine come to die without leaving behind him lawfull offspring, and that the French King endeavour to oppose the lawfull succession to the crowne of Spaine that belongeth to the august house of the Emperour, to which is now designed the Archduke of Austria, second sone to his Imperial Majesty, then shall the abovementioned States Generall help to mantaine his Imperial Majesty in the settlement of the lawfull succession of the foresayed monarchy of Spaine, and assist to avert all that the French King endeavoureth and attempteth againest the same. The States likewise shall endeavour, by all friendly wayes and meanes, and interpose their good offices, for perswadeing the Electours of the Empire to elect for King of the Romans the present King of Hungary. And in case the French King endeavour to hinder the choise that may fall upon the foresayed King of Hungary, whether by menaces and fearefull impressions, or by effectual force, then shall the States Generall help to free his Imperial Majesty from this, by opposeing and repelling violence with violence. In behalf of the Emperour shall the King of Spaine, and in behalf of the States Generall shall the King of Great Brittaine be invited to enter into this allyance, and, besides, all other allies of either side, that please shall be admitted into it. And this allyance in behalf of his Imperial Majesty and the States Generall of the United Netherlands shall be approved and ratified within ——— moneths, or sooner if it be any way possible.

W. Baron v. Heeckeren.

This agreeth with the foresayed registrer.

H. Fagel.

No. 5.

Received 21st of Aprill, 1689.

VERY NOBLE AND WORTHY SIR,

THE untimely death of Mr. Fen Hoove, of blessed memory, hath occasioned me, tho' very unwillingly, in obedience to the pleasure of the States, to take upon me the executing the office of Pensionary to the Council, till such time as his place be filled up againe; upon this account I think myself obliged to acquaint you with that which I judge necessary for prosecuting the commission given you: To wit, that immediately after I hade undertaken that provissionary office, your letter concerneing the entring into a neare allyance with his Imperial Majesty was communicated to me by Mr. Netelhorst, as first in the States commission for forreign business. I have, in consideration of the importance of this business, and with how much secrecy it must be treated, given all necessary orders, to the end that the papers and pieces found in the house where Mr. Fen Hoove lately died might be brought to me, not doubting but that I might find among them something by which I could have received some light as to the King of England's sentiments upon that subject; but I have found nothing among them that any way concerneth this matter. Since, now, the time will not permitt to write thither and wait for his Majesty's answer before this business be begun, I have therefor endeavoured, so much as is possible, to informe myself by others, and am particularly informed by Mr. Netelhorst, that, some time agone, his Majesty knew of and relished this business, tho' in all appearance he knew not that it would be so ordered as now it is, which nevertheless can make no change. Thereafter, speakeing with Prince Waldeck thereupon, he assured me of the same; and sayed that Mr. Fen Hoove would, without doubt, have likewise taken this business in hand, which now, without loseing of time, I have immediately begun, hopeing that with the English letters I may be further informed therein, which is likewise come to pass, as you will see by the depechées now going of, with which, for your further information, I will add the remarks made thereupon by some of the provinces in time of our deliberation.

First, That the King of England's considerations ought to be first taken in.

Secondly, That it ought not to be treated of but conjunctly with England.

Thirdly, That this allyance ought to be made meerely againest France.

Fourthly, That the recommendation of the King of Hungary to the Electours for chooseing him King of the Romans may occasion jealousie among them, and that the same was of a tender and delicate nature.

Fifthly, If the Emperour make not peace with the Turks, then the foresayed allyance will not have the effect looked for.

Friseland, so well the countrey as cities, sticketh close to the first article, notwithstanding that the Lords present at the conference seemed to be sufficiently convinced, that if now the King of England were written to, and his Majesty's answer expected, the whole business might in the meane time be ruined, since the same is of so tender and delicate a nature; for which cause, on Tuesday, the 5th of this inst., the draught of the articles, in which there is now made but very little alteration, was transmitted to his Majesty, withall adding that it was beleeved the business would be very shortly concluded, for which cause his Majesty was requested, that in case he hade any different or contrary considerations, that he would be pleased not onely to send them hither, but likewise to send them immediately to you, since the business would admit of no delay. I doubt not but that befor the recept of this you'l have received his Majesty's inclinations about this allyance; and this so much the rather, because I thinke that in one of your letters you write that Mr. Witzen hath written to you thereof.

But in case you hesitate any way therein, it is fitt that you, in your wisedome and according to your customary prudent conduct, endeavour to order the business so that, on the one hand, nothing be retarded nor no time lost; and on the other, that nothing be finally concluded till you receive from here, or else directly from England, his Majesty's considerations thereupon. * * * * * * * *

It is generally thought that, in case the Emperour continue the warr against the Turks, and imploy his greatest force that way, then will the greatest burthen of the warr fall upon us, and we shall not be able to bring affaires to the termes required in the allyance; for this end you will find yourself not onely obliged to continue your devoirs for makeing peace with the Turk, but likewise, in case of obstinacy, to take care sufficiently to provide against the foresayed apprehended trouble. It is generally inclined in this case to oblige the Emperour to maintaine a certaine sufficient number of men, to be expressed in the treaty, with which he is at least to acte against France; but it is not thought fitt to determine this number, and so to limit you too much, haveing rather judged it more expedient that I write a line to Prince Waldeck, and desire him to communicate with all speed his thoughts herein to you, that this business may be so much the sooner brought to a good conclusion, which accordingly I shall doe this day. If you thinke that I am capable of serveing you by occasion of this my provisional function, or any other waye, I intreat you'l doe me the honour freely to imploy me; assureing yourself that in regard of our mutual friendship and correspondence some yeares agone, dureing our ministry here in the Hague, I 'l reckon myself happy if I may testifye that I am in sincerety,

Very noble and worthy Sir,

Your most humble servant,

Hague, 11 Aprill, 1689. A. Heinsius.

No. 6.

Received 30th Aprill, 1689.

Very Noble and Worthy Sir,

Just now are delivered me two letters from the King of England, of the 8th and 12th inst. In the first he maketh knowne to me that his opinion is, that the allyance ought to be made and perfected with all speed; that it is the same thing to his Majesty whether he be comprehended in, or thereafter admitted to, the foresayed allyance; and being inclined to both alike, he leaveth it to the Emperour to determine it accordeing as he judgeth best. By the last, in answer to mine, dated the 5th inst., with which I have sent over the articles, he, in the first place, approveth that draught of the treaty with the Emperour; and, in the next, recommendeth the bringing of it to a conclusion so soone as is possible, his Majesty being ready to enter into the same allyance so soone as the Emperour desireth it. As to the preparations of warr, his Majesty writeth that he hath imparted his opinion therein to Prince Waldeck, who, without doubt, hath communicate the same either to you or Count Stratman. I thought it my duety with all speed to informe you of this; and moreover to testifye that I am,

Very noble and worthy Sir,

Your Honour's most humble servant,

Hague, 16 Aprill, 1689. A. Heinsius.

THE END.

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